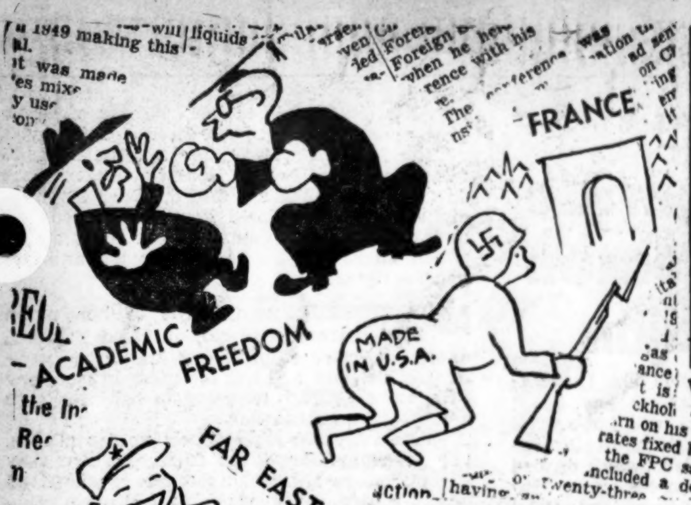
NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Vol. I, No. 12 NEW YORK, N. Y., JAN. 3, 1949 10 Cents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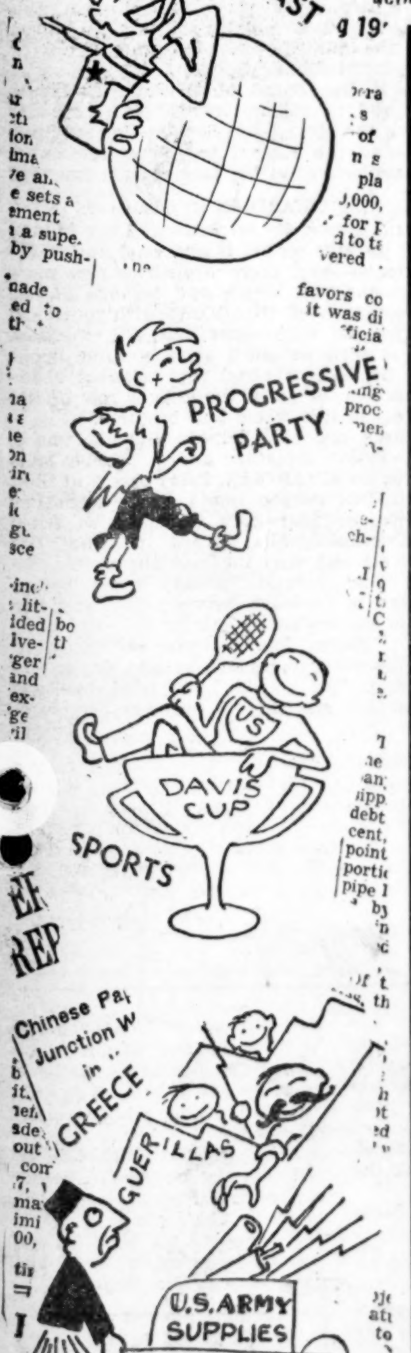
Preview of '49

a forecast by

Max Werner W. E. B. Du Bois Kumar Goshal Johannes Steel Gordon Schaffer John Lardner Olin Downes Barrows Dunham Frank Scully Eleanor Wheeler Paul M. Sweezy Charles Duff Stanley Karnow James Higgins Willard Young Igor Trigorin Charles J. Coe Emil N. Carlebach Clyde R. Miller Kathleen Sproul David W. Janes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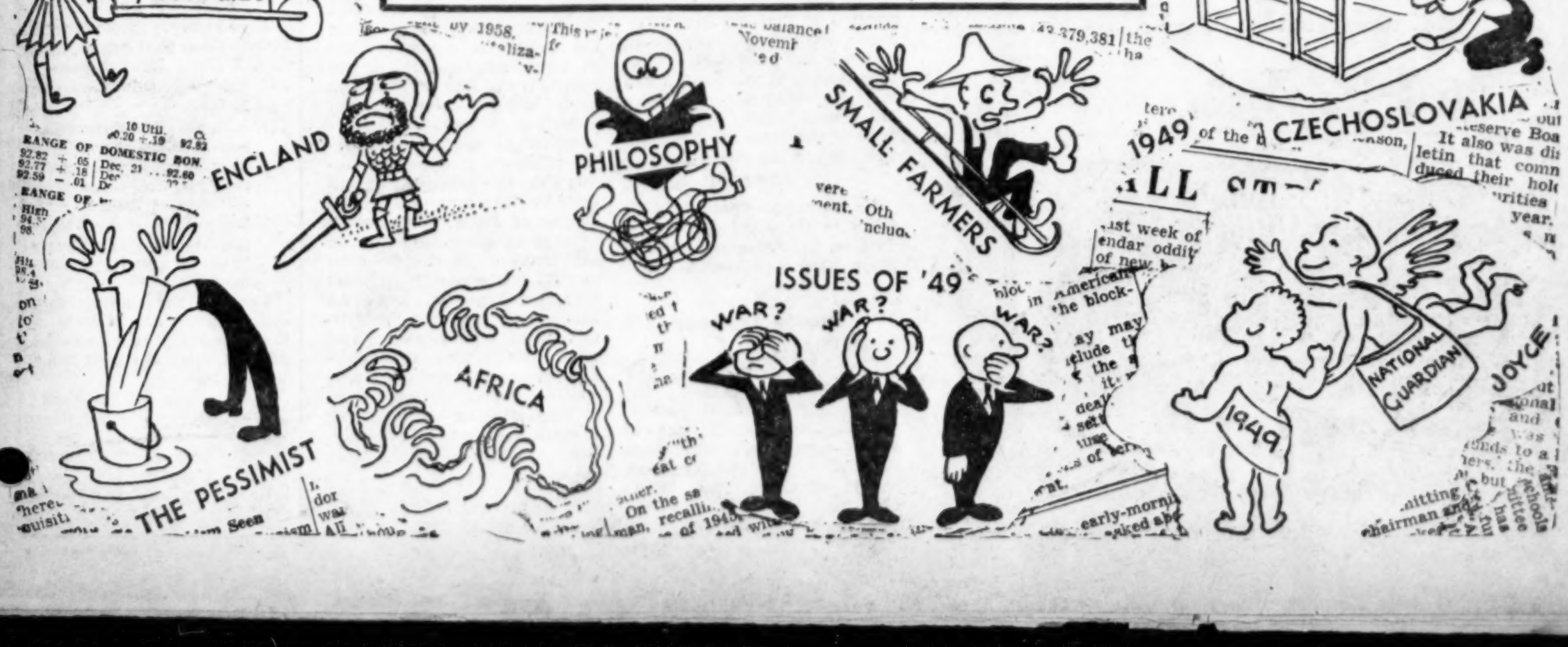
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1949

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc. 17 Murray Street, New York 7, N. Y. Telephone WOrth 4-6390. Ten cents on newsstands—$4 a year by subscription. Application for entry as 2d class matter pending.

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Report to readers

Minnie Gutride and the reason for Guardian

A PROGRESSIVE publication like the NATIONAL GUARDIAN always has tough going—as our good readers well know. We don't have $20,000,000 endowments, like Beardsley Ruml's big-shot brains trust which opened up for business last week on the whole 28th floor of the swank Sherry-Netherland Hotel (see Page . In fact we have to pull ourselves up by our own bootstraps most of the time, depending on our present readers to get us more readers (see Page :), imploring people to renew their subscriptions so that we won't have to run so darned fast just to stay in the same place, like Alice in Wonderland. Once in a while we take a look at the bank account, call a caucus and decide to pass a payday so as not to miss an edition.

Maybe you wonder why people like us think maintaining and building a hard-bitten progressive paper is so all-fired important that we miss paydays just to stay alive. Maybe you sometimes wonder why we don't just sort of subside and go back to covering fires or writing movie reviews for the big commercial papers and magazines.

WELL, here's an example of why we came into being, and why with your help and every penny we can scrape up, we intend to stay in business.

Early in the going, the GUARDIAN ran a story about the hounding of teachers and professors by the thousands throughout the country for supporting Wallace and Taylor or otherwise exposing themselves as "too liberal." Naturally, we felt for the hounded people but we said at the time that the real sufferers would be the students and the nation which permitted witchhunting to drive out freedom of intelligence.

On the eve of Christmas this year, a heartbreaking tragedy occurred which came pretty close to home for us. For several months the Hearst **Journal-American**, biggest newspaper of the biggest "free press" chain in America, has been hounding New York City teachers, especially those daring to belong to the CIO Teachers Union. On Tuesday night before Christmas, three top Board of Education officials descended on Mrs. Minnie Gutride, first grade teacher in a Staten Island school with 17 years of admirable teaching effort behind her. Her children loved her; parents of whole generations of kids remembered her fondly.

The inquisitors gave her a disquieting 15 minutes; grilled her on Hearst "charges" that she attended some meeting or other seven or eight years ago; refused her plea for counsel and left her with the threat of legal action which might deprive her of her job and her pension rights.

MRS. GUTRIDE went right to her union headquarters when school closed Tuesday, drafted a letter of protest to the Superintendent of Schools, and left for home in company of a union official, resolving to fight the case out with the union's help.

Wednesday she didn't show up for classes, nor Thursday. Finally on Christmas Eve they found her—in the small flat where she lived alone, a suicide by gas with a forlorn note scratched on brown paper hinting at cancer (which she didn't have).

Who killed Minnie Gutride?

Was it the Board of Education officials, goaded and harried to inquisitorial methods? Or was it the Hearst and Scripps-Howard "free press"—and the rest of the press remaining primly "objective" in the face of such tragedy?

WHY is the GUARDIAN in business?

Well, people, the terrorizing of the Minnie Gutrides of this nation is one good and sufficient reason—and there are thousands more such reasons, the length and breadth of the land. Compare your GUARDIAN with your local newspaper—or with other national weeklies. Have you seen as much as a murmur about Minnie Gutride, or about repression of academic freedom, or about the ghastly role of the kept press in this whole foul business?

It turns out that Minnie Gutride was a Wallace-Taylor supporter and a charter subscriber to the GUARDIAN. Every now and then a GUARDIAN coupon would arrive from her with three or four—once as many as ten—new subscribers. She worked for what she believed in; and why she took the course she did on that fateful Tuesday night before Christmas is a matter between her and her God. She was visibly shaken by the experience of that afternoon, but she gave no indication of her intention to commit suicide, or, as the union said, "we should have tried to have someone stay with her to prevent this tragic outcome."

THAT'S our report for this week, for and about our GUARDIAN readers. There will be others in subsequent issues. Remember—and tell your friends—that you saw in the GUARDIAN how the free press sent Minnie Gutride to her death on the Eve of Christmas, 1948.

John T. McManus

LETTERS

Rural free damage

MINNESOTA (town withheld)

We live in the country—on a rural mail route. Something like a month ago I sent for a trial subscription to the GUARDIAN and have received three copies. I also was a subscriber to **Protestant** magazine and about a month ago—in response to an appeal—I sent them a contribution of $5.

They sent me a post-card thanking me for my contribution and in that same day's mail my copy of the GUARDIAN was put in the mail box—**neatly torn in two in the middle.**

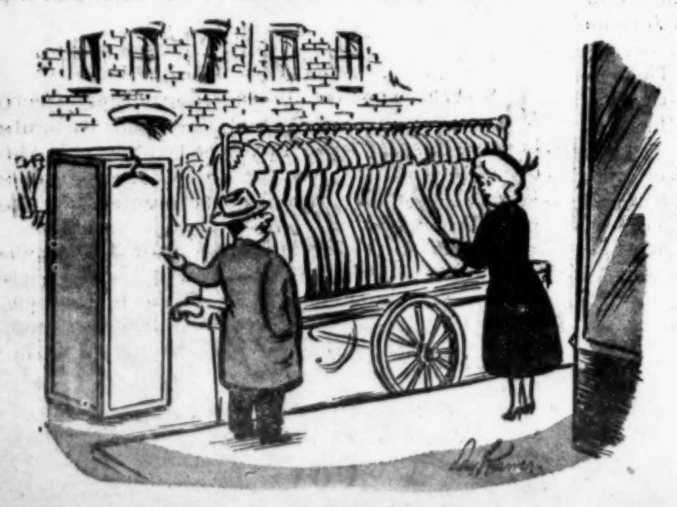
Last week I did not receive my copy of the GUARDIAN. Of course it would be easy for the carrier to "lose" it in some snow drift along the road. I know it is a serious offense to tamper with the mail—but how prove it?

For the present I have a simple solution. Please mail my GUARDIAN in my son's name to his college: he will bring it home to me.

I would like to help in obtaining subscriptions for your paper. How would it be to ask your subscribers to put tiny advertisements in the want ad section of small rural weeklies?

I am depending on your paper to come out and roundly denounce Dutch aggression in Indonesia and the U.S. undercover support of same. It must be plain to any thinking person that the American State Dept. and military must have known all along about Dutch plans—they furnished Holland with money to train and equip her soldiers—gave them bombs and planes. They could easily have prevented this brutal aggression if they had wanted to.

Mrs. (name withheld)



Want to try it on?

Throat cutting

NEW YORK, N. Y.

In your **Dollar Stretcher** column you should mention Starlac, the skimmed milk Borden puts up in boxes. With very little trouble you can get five good quarts of milk for 33c. With a little help, Borden could be cutting its own throat. . . .

How about some news about the new LP (long playing) phonograph records and players? Some say they're not perfected yet and to hold off buying. What's the story?

Mitchell Goodman

See next week's issue.—Ed.

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What did you do?

NEW YORK, N. Y.

We all received greeting cards these last few weeks. I am moved to ask: What is the real message of these times? Men of good will everywhere answer: Brotherhood! Peace on earth. Instead we see a world in conflict.

What is a real test of a civilization? On his recent visit to our shores, the Dean of Canterbury suggested these as such a yardstick: "I was hungry—what did you do? I was naked—what did you do? I was cold—what did you do?"

With riches abounding—what did you do?

Millions are dying whom we could save. More live in chains. "Is true freedom but to break fetters for our own dear sake, and with leather heart forget that we owe mankind a debt?"

The Season's Message is really a question: what did you do?

Stanley J. Beyer

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Series E Bonds

LOS ANGELES, CAL.

With reference to the article on U.S. Bonds by G. J. Ferguson (Dec. 20), it is a case of rather bad misinformation or of deliberately trying to scare persons who are not too well acquainted with finance.

Ferguson makes no attempt to differentiate between U.S. Govt. "E" bonds, which are non-negotiable, carry a set interest rate percentage (averages 2.9 over the 10 years), and can always be redeemed at the figure printed on the back side of the bond—and the other series of Govt. bonds such as "F" and "G" which are negotiable, can fall below 100, and are traded.

The importance of this distinction is that the series "E" bonds are your savings bonds, and are the ones which most folks bought at war bond rallies in the smaller denominations. For these bonds, there exist none of the fears Mr. Ferguson discussed in his article.

Edwin B. Kanner

Mr. Kanner is right; our story failed to make the proper distinction. But Ferguson's point on profiteering is still valid.—Ed.

•

Storm trooper

ROSEDALE, N. Y.

In my neighborhood, the ALP and YPA are picketing the YWCA for its discrimination against Negroes. In recent weeks, our protests have been intensified. On one occasion, while marching, we (YPA) chanted "The Bill of Rights was made for all. Jim Crow must fall." Among the onlookers were a number of the usual vicious hate-mongers. One of them was an Army top sergeant who seemed to have stepped right out of the pages of **The Naked And The Dead.** He screamed "The hell with the Bill of Rights."

Alan Sacks

•

On Divinity

PITTSBURGH, PA.

When will progressive writers learn not to go out of their way to make unnecessary enemies? Your story, "A Faith to Free the People" is a step in the right direction, but WHY do you have to try to impose your own unproved ideas of the lack of divinity of the Christ on everybody? What useful, constructive result do you hope to accomplish by antagonizing all those who are convinced of the divinity of Jesus? Why not be satisfied to allow each person the freedom to decide such matters for himself? (He will take such freedom anyway.) How anyone can read the 17th chapter of John's gospel and not conclude that this indicates either the divinity Jesus openly claimed (verses 5 and 24 especially) or else hopeless insanity, I cannot understand.

Anthony Bruce Cox

On p. 80 of "A Faith to Free the People"—cut for space reasons from the GUARDIAN version—appears the following:

"The Baptist pastor . . . asked Claude whether he believed in the divinity of Jesus.

" 'Yes,' Claude said, 'but not the deity.' "

*This important distinction is reflected in all of Williams' mature life. I plead not guilty to reader Cox's charge of "trying to impose my ideas." That was not my function as a biographer.—*Cedric Belfrage.

RENEW NOW!

If you have a 13-week trial subscription that began with Vol. 1, No. 1 issue, then—

(1) Your subscription is expiring.

(2) As a Charter Subscriber you're eligible for a free book bonus if you renew promptly for a full year—Cedric Belfrage's "A Faith to Free the People," or A. J. Liebling's "The Wayward Pressman."

Look at the mailing box on page 12. If there's a "1-13" below your name and address, then the next issue is your last.

Simply tear out the mailing box, indicate which free book you want, and send it in with your $4 remittance. Or if you prefer, send your renewal now and we will bill you.

THE NATION

North American Master Race

Technocrats are ready to take over 'when stomach meets spine'

By Leonard Nelson

LAST WEEK a palace revolt by dissident Technocrats, who complained that their "Chief" Howard Scott never accounted for the funds nor even revealed the identity of Technocracy's Board of Directors, drew attention once again to this erector-set Americanism movement which caused a furore in the great depression.

In the hungry days of 1932 Technocracy was hailed as the new path to peace and plenty by industrialists, college professors and liberals. **The Nation** called it "the first step toward a genuine revolutionary program for North America."

"Chief" Scott called for abolition of "the price system," consolidation of the North American continent into the Technate of America, and complete overhauling of our political system by drafting "engineers, technicians and scientists into political power." He said he would replace money by "energy certificates of distribution" (a sort of ration card regulated by photoelectric-cell cash registers). The result would be "a plethora of abundance" with a four-hour work-day and four-day week.

GREY DAYS. The New Deal burst this bubble; Scott with some 8,000 devotees withdrew from public view. But during the years of prosperity Technocracy has been quietly prospering too. The organization is ostentatiously affluent.

Calling on Scott in his Continental Headquarters in New York, I found him unworried over the palace revolution.

Scott is a Virginian and Confederate grey is the color he adopted to symbolize his movement. A grey door led me into a grey room decorated with nightmarish engineering symbols, presided over by a grey-haired woman in a grey uniform. Her desk was stacked with pamphlets in grey covers.

PRIVY ON WHEELS. She led me through a door marked "Chief" into an ultra-modern office wall-papered with huge maps and graphs. Behind an eight-foot desk cluttered with technical manuals, strange-shaped hunks of aluminum and weird steel coils sat the rangy, grey-haired, grey-clad man himself.

He motioned me to a chair beneath a map of North America labeled, "The Eminent Domain of the New Social Order."

"North American technology," he said, "has made politics irrelevant. In this power age all social theories—liberty, justice, freedom—are empty baubles from the social epoch of yesterday . . . There isn't a Marxist or any other kind of social theorist who could design the calculus for a privy on wheels. Communism is radical and revolutionary enough for Europe but for North America it's so far to the right as to be bourgeois."

A slim, uniformed young man entered, saluted the Chief, and sat beneath a map marked, "Continental Hydrology." Scott continued:

"Technology and its promise of abundance has eliminated classes, value, morals. Energy is the only calculable factor; engineering principles, ergs, joules, hydrology form the basis of our design. Technocracy is thermodynamic, continental . . ."

"FORCE MAJEURE." Scott's manner was compelling, and he made the verbiage sound full of significance.

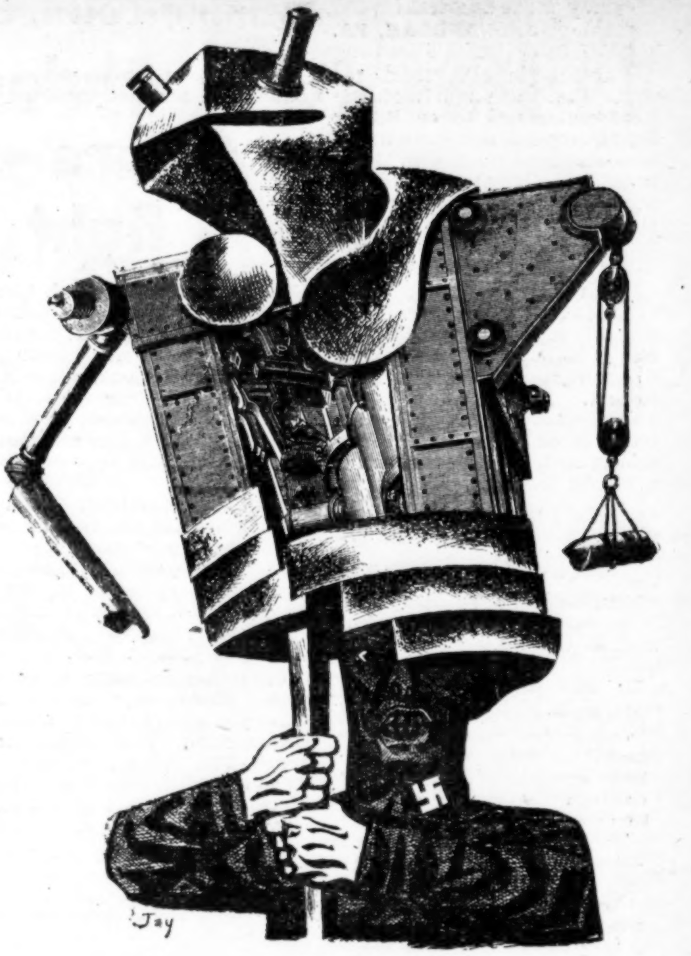
"How will you bring Technocracy about?" I asked.

"Unless this continent achieves 'ecological equilibrium' and gets its snoot and four feet out of this inflation bonanza, there's no telling what will happen."

I rephrased my question and got a five-minute lecture on hydrology, balanced loads and continentalism. After my fifth try, Scott said: "All politics smells, so why should we distinguish between stinks? We have no assumption-of-power theory. The march of events, the economic **force majeure,** will bring Technocracy."

CRASH AWAITED. Uninterested in mass following, Technocrats beam their appeal to 5,000,000 technicians whose "know-how runs the nation." Now they are waiting for the next depression to hit. Says a recent issue of the **North West Technocrat:**

"With the coming depression Technocracy stands on the brink of opportunity. The leaders of this movement have never forgotten that social change tends to occur at a rate directly as the approach of the front of the stomach to the spine. Technocracy is content to work and wait, knowing full well that events will push the organization to the forefront in the continent."



MASTER RACE. Technocracy has picked up drabs and dregs of fascist notions during its years of affluent obscurity. Today it is anti-alien and anti-Asiatic; it would annihilate "alien and non-technological minorities" such as the French in Quebec, and destroy the Hacienda culture south of the Rio Grande. Its literature glories in the "superiority" of North Americans and speaks of a new "manifest destiny" on this continent.

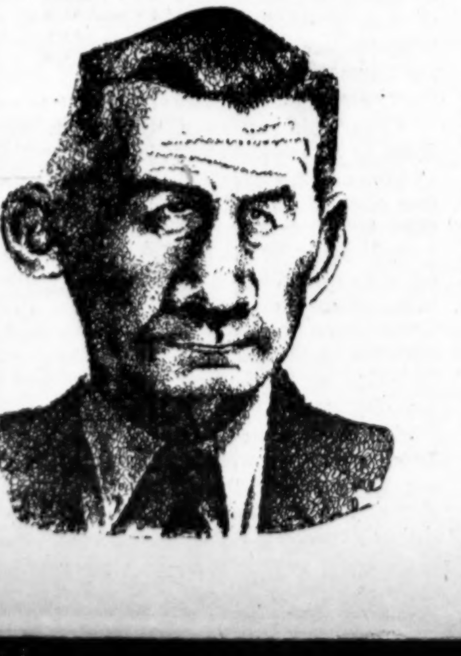
In the West its motorized adherents travel in fleets of automobiles all painted grey and equipped with huge Navy searchlights and sound systems. Wherever these "Grey Fleets" exist, the organization has made them available at all times to police authorities for "emergencies."

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

U.S. frontiers

AS THE new year dawned James Forrestal beat a very loud drum and all the world got a preview of what kind of a year 1949 might be.

The Secretary of Defense warned America in his first annual report: "It may be necessary to accept some denials in our accustomed standards if we are to achieve a state of readiness which to me seems indicated by the uncertain state of the world."



The American state of readiness was to be extended across oceans and on to other continents, for no one knew where the American frontiers might be. Mr. Forrestal said: "It is impossible to anticipate just what part of the world will require military assistance from the United States Government."

The Secretary's report (65,000 words) asked that the President be given authority to send military aid to "allies or to countries with international interests similar to ours." It called for Universal Military Training. (The President was reported planing to renew his plea for UMT in a message to Congress in the middle of January.)

As Forrestal released his report, the President ordered all departments to tie up for one legislative package "all related aspects of foreign economic and military programs." The language of the President's order indicated that he would ask Congress to approve U. S. entry in a North Atlantic security pact.

Henry A. Wallace commented: "Secretary Forrestal's proposals would deliver a death blow to the plans for social reform for which the people voted in the recent election. He bluntly points out that we cannot have both guns and butter and cast his vote for guns."

YEAR OF THE NIGHTMARE. Great things were in the works. Atomically-powered warcraft were to be sent speeding in all directions. (Civilian commerce may remain more leisurely.)

At nine-tenths of the distance between here and the moon a platform was to be set up, Forrestal revealed. From such a vantage point, he said, the whole earth could be included in a bomb sight. It may be useful in clarifying television images, too, it was added.

(GUARDIAN last week, speaking perhaps with too much flippancy, reported that H. E. Ross of High Wycombe, Bucks, England, was talking of a flying saucer 22,000 miles up, from which a policeman might keep tabs on an unruly world.)

In all the whirl of discs and rockets and atom-frenzied missiles, the human element was not forgotten. Barracks were to sprout all over the country and overseas. (Civilian housing could wait.) Almost 30% of all Federal expenditures were to be military. The pay for all members of our armed forces was to be greatly increased—except for privates.

Some people celebrated when 1949 dawned.

The 81st

AS WE went to press Congressmen were converging on the capital, and if lights burned late anywhere in the city it was in the office of Mrs. Sally Muchmore of Washington's Board of Trade, official house hunter for the nation's legislators.

Rep. Victor Wickersham (D-Okla.), a Washington real estate agent when not a Congressman, was gloomy about the prospects for new members. He said: "They've been assigned their seats in the House, but that is a far cry from the kind of house they want."

OPEN HOUSE. The kind of House Americans will get may be decided shortly after noon today when Congress opens. Not long after the gavel strikes, a member will move that the new Con-

Continued under the line on next page.

Mining Town, U.S.A.

Shenandoah wants a future—and will fight for it

By Ed Falkowski
SHENANDOAH, PA.

MAIN Street of this bustling anthracite coal town reflects the boom spirit of the hard-coal region today. Bright lights, crowded restaurants and saloons, stores filled with shoppers, smartly attired crowds promenading along the street, the jingle of money in the miners' pockets—all these indicate "good times."

The miner has a new sense of his own dignity, and in large measure it is due to the United Mine Workers' pension plan which went into effect last September. It provides every miner, 62 or over, who has spent 20 or more years in the mines, with an income of $100 a month for life.

SEAMY PROSPERITY. But there is another reason for the pension plan. It is designed to create jobs in an industry which, despite peak conditions, is cursed with unemployment. That is the seamy side of the boom.

In 1924 there were 37,672 miners in Schuylkill County which contains Shenandoah. In 1945 there were 19,127. Throughout the industry, employment of men and boys has dropped from 162,503 in 1924 to 76,265 in 1945. In the one year, 1944-1945, the industry froze 2,000 miners off the payroll.

Some have gone to other industries; most have not. More than 100,000 miners are out of work in the anthracite region. These include war veterans who never had jobs before the war but who were born and raised in the diggings. They refuse to pick up stakes and move off.

WORN-OUT MINES. Behind these statistics lies another set of figures: production figures. The county produced 19,000,000 tons of hard coal in 1924; 16,700,000 in 1945. The nation produced 87,000,000 in 1924; 55,000,000 tons in 1945.

Old mines are being depleted. Once there were about 20 mining operations around Shenandoah. Now there are seven. The rest are as extinct as moon-volcanoes. The dying of the mines has added thousands of unemployed.

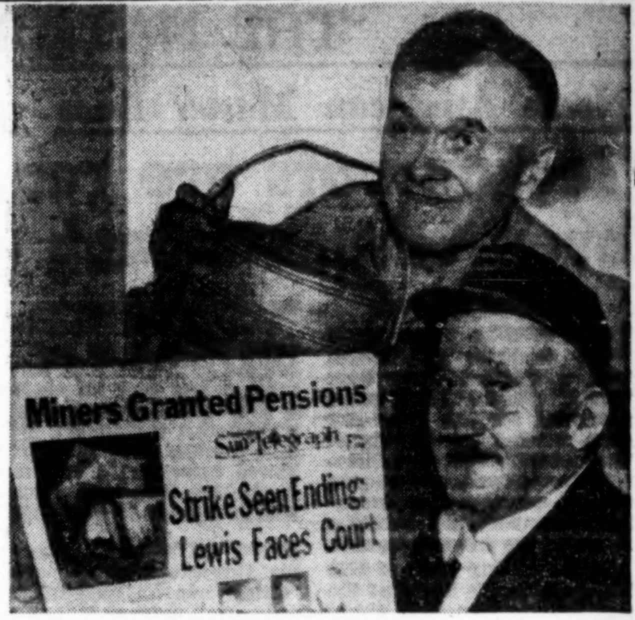
Mechanization, too, has been a factor in the unemployment which haunts prosperity in the mine fields. For years the miner fought a losing battle against mechanization of the industry. Old-timers held that due to the wild and tortuous convolutions of the anthracite coal seams, mechanization was impossible. Nevertheless it has come. The deep shaft-mine is giving way to stripping. Giant electric shovels and mechanical loading devices extract coal by surface operations instead of seeking it dangerously underground as in the old days.

Shaft-mined production fell from 45,000,000 tons in 1932 to 35,000,000 tons in 1945. During the same period strip-mine output climbed from 3,500,000 to 10,500,000 tons and another 9,500,000 tons were gained in 1945 by reclaiming the waste of old silt banks.

WANTED: A FUTURE. Shenandoah does not bow to what some economists call "the inevitable." For the immediate future the townsmen look to the UMW pension plan. The old miners look to it for security; the young miners expect jobs from it. The storekeeper and the little businessman look forward to a flow of pension dollars.

To handle the long-term future, Shenandoah's businessmen, union representatives and civic leaders have formed a "Chamber of Progress." Their strategy has been to entice industries to the town by offering tax rebates and building sites. The results to date have been meager.

But Shenandoah has the will to live. The slogan is: "We want a tomorrow for our town."



Frank and Lawrence Grousosky of Cloverdale, Pa., 69 and 64 respectively, had reason to cheer last April when the UMW won the pension fight. They'd been digging since 1907, soon after they came to the U.S. from Poland, and were eligible for the pension. Frank had to quit working in 1947 because of asthma.

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

Continued from preceding page.

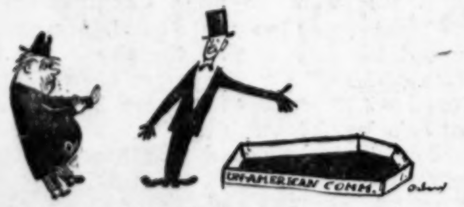
gress adopt the rules of the old one. These rules include the structure of committees and the channels through which legislation must move. Controlling the traffic of bills in the House is the Rules Committee.

In the 80th Congress, the committee could bottle up bills at will. As the 81st opened, two plans for changing the committee setup were in the wind:

1. Rep. Eberhardter (D-Pa.) was ready to press for new procedure that would allow any committee to propose its own rules for bringing bills on to the floor.

2. Rep. Sabath (D-Ill.) had ready a plan to permit 100 or 150 members of the House to bring any bill out of the committee by petition. Under present rules, a majority of Representatives, 218, is required to pry a measure loose.

WORDS WILL NEVER HURT. The opening day will test the Administration's attitude toward continuing the House Un-American Activities Committee. If a blanket resolution is brought in adopting the old rules (thereby continuing the old committees), the Administration will have lost its best chance—if it wanted that chance—to kill the group. Two weeks ago the President pronounced the committee dead; he called its prime achievement, the pumpkin-papers spy story, a red herring.


UN-AMERICAN COMM.

But last week, as Congress prepared to meet, the Committee seemed likely to survive all such well-meant but harmless censure. Democratic liberals Chet Holifield (D-Cal.), Herman P. Eberharter (D-Pa.) and Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) apparently had given up the fight to kill the group and turned their efforts to reforming it instead.

Committee members, smarting under the criticism aroused by the Duggan suicide, proposed that the committee:

1. State its purpose in any specific investigation and ask only pertinent questions.

2. Allow witnesses to make statements.

3. Grant stenographic records of hearings to witnesses.

Reformers proposed that witnesses be allowed to cross-examine their accusers and that batteries of newspaper, television and newsreel cameramen be excluded from hearings; but committee members vigorously objected to both proposals.

The Committee, itself, recommended that the incoming Congress pass a new Mundt-Nixon Bill; raise penalties for contempt of Congress from one year and $1,000 fine to five years and $5,000 fine; stiffen espionage and immigration rules; continue the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

After today's battle over rules, Congress will adjourn until Wednesday when the President will deliver his message on the State of the Union.

GOP Lineup

TAFT TRUCE. To "liberal" Republicans who had clamored for his abdication as policy chief, Sen. Robert A. Taft (R-O.) last week extended a slender olive branch. He proposed that the Republican policy committee be enlarged from 9 to 11. The two new members would be "liberals." He also suggested that the policy committee chairman be elected by the committee, on the condition that the chairman be Robert A. Taft.

Scorning appeasement, 13 rebel Republicans banded together to boost Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge Jr. (R-Mass.) to replace Taft. Sen. Irving M. Ives (R-N. Y.), speaking for the group said, "The party under Bob is not going forward. We are in a state of suspended animation." The Senate Republican conference was expected to settle the issue today.

The Welles case

AT MIDNIGHT on Christmas night former Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles, 56, put on his fur coat and walked out of the library of his home in Oxon, Md. He left the lights burning, the door open.

He had suffered from insomnia for some time, and the death on Dec. 20 of his friend Laurence Duggan had troubled him greatly. Duggan had been implicated by Isaac Don Levine in the pumpkin spy case. He had been questioned by agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Then he "leaped or fell" from his 16th story office window in New York.

Welles did not return that night. The temperature dropped well below freezing. Next morning a boy walking home from church found him lying face down near a brook. His fingers and toes were frozen. Only his coat saved his life, doctors said.

When he regained consciousness several hours later in Casualty Hospital, Welles asked, "What has happened?" He recalled nothing.

Labor outlook

PHILIP MURRAY, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, called at the White House last week to congratulate the President formally on his election. (American Federation of Labor leaders paid the courtesy call shortly before Christmas.)

With Murray came James B. Carey, CIO Secretary-Treasurer, and Emil Rieve, president of the Textile Workers Union (both right-wingers), and Jacob Potofsky, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, a middle-of-the-roader.

Congratulations over, the labor men got down to business. They asked the President to call for outright repeal of the Taft-Hartley law and re-enactment of the Wagner Labor Relations Act. Amendments to the act, Murray suggested, could be offered later. The President made no commitments but said that labor legislation would head the agenda he would hand to Congress on Wednesday. It was thought likely that the Administration would try to repeal Taft-Hartley (as Truman promised) and amend the Wagner Act in one measure.

The N. Y. State Committee of the American Labor Party last week circulated petitions calling for complete restoration of the Wagner Act and the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction

National Guardian's Preview of 1949

The Contributors

THE articles on this and the next four pages offer a New Year's perspective as seen by GUARDIAN contributors in the U. S. and abroad. Since they present interdependent issues, we depart in this case from our usual practice of departmentalizing world and national affairs.

This is the line-up:

Eleanor Wheeler (Czechoslovakia), Stanley Karnow (France), Willard Young (Mexico), Emil Carlebach (U. S. Zone, Germany), and Gordon Schaffer (England) are GUARDIAN's regular correspondents in those countries. Igor Trigorin, Soviet newspaperman, contributes for the first time. Charles Duff, British writer and barrister, is an expert on Spanish affairs since the days of the Civil War.

Paul M. Sweezy, former teacher of economics at Harvard, is the author of "The Theory of Capitalist Development." Clyde R. Miller is the noted propaganda analyst, formerly a professor at Columbia University. Max Werner, leading military-political analyst in the U. S. and author of "The Military Strength of the Powers," etc., contributes frequently to GUARDIAN.

John Lardner is the well-known "Newsweek" sports columnist and theater critic for the New York "Star." Frank Scully, perennial Hollywoodsman and thorn in California political windbags, is a "Variety" columnist and author of the "Fun In Bed" books. Barrows Dunham is the author of "Man Against Myth" and professor of philosophy at Temple University, Philadelphia.

W. E. B. Du Bois, for many years research director of the NAACP, has now become active in the Council on African Affairs. Kumar Goshal is the author of "People In Colonies," "The People of India," etc. Johannes Steel, former radio commentator, now publishes the monthly "Johanes Stetl Report on World Affairs." Kathleen Sproul is a newspaper and magazine writer of varied experience, now on the staff of "Survey Graphic."

Charles J. Coe is the editor of "Facts For Farmers." Rev. David W. Jones is a minister of the Disciples of Christ in Missouri. James Higgins is an authority on labor questions whose articles have appeared in "New Republic" and other national publications. Olin Downes is the music critic of the New York "Times."

Max Werner

The super-blitz theory folds -- Will U.S. learn?

IN 1948, the concept of technological war fought by a few with super-weapons, now prevailing in the U.S., was refuted. The fighting man and the superior politico-military organization emerged as victors.

Will the men in the Pentagon heed this lesson?

For a conservative military mind only 12 months ago all the odds seemed to be on the side which has lost or is losing now. Chiang's government, the Arab League, the Greek monarchy had the advantage in resources, weapons, troops and space.

The conclusion is that initial inferiority in weapons can be made up with better use of available weapons, higher morale and better organization.

This is exactly what has happened.

In China, Palestine and Greece, the active combat power is winning against passive man-power having the stronger weapons. The improvised civilian armies were forged into real armies, while the professional armies disintegrated in spite of the stronger weapons.

FIRECRACKERS. Could super weapons have been used in these wars and could they have changed their course? The question is worth thinking of.

The atomic bomb and the guided missile could not have been used in China and Greece, against scattered armies based in the countryside. There they would be no more than expensive fire crackers.

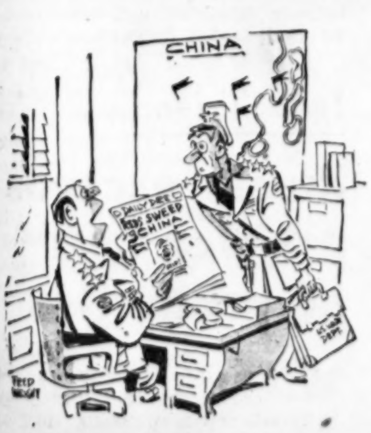
They could be used against the Israeli State with defenses leaning on the cities of Tel Aviv and Haifa.

1949 SUPERMAN. In 1949 the Soviet-American armament race will continue. The conspicuous military fact of this year, however, will be the landslide in the Far East. After the elimination of Chiang we shall witness China becoming a real Great Power. China's new army rising from the civil war is the second biggest army in the world.

It will be seen this year how Japan has been dwarfed by China's new rise. China is today as superior against Japan as the Soviet Union was against Germany, and therefore Japan must be discounted for good as the center of military power against the Asiatic continent. It would be absurd for our policy to bet on Japan.

NEUTRAL JAPAN. Now that the Gen. Chennault and the Gen. Wedemeyer plans of inclusion of China in an anti-communist coalition have collapsed, Gen. McArthur's plans for building a U.S. strategic position in Japan become unrealistic and unfeasible too. The only tenable solution for Japan is neutralization, not militarization. It is impossible to restore the Pacific end of the Axis with the U.S. throwing its weight on the side of Japan or using Japan as a strategic position against China.

The reasons are clear: Japan will be choked off by China instead of China being "contained" by Japan. Japan cannot live without the Asiatic continent; Asia can live without Japan.



"Don't that prove that an American-equipped army is unbeatable?"

Paul M. Sweezy

No. 1 job for 1949: Teach the real truth

WILTON, N. H.

WILL 1949 bring the world nearer to war or nearer to peace? That is the crucial question for next year and probably for a good many years to come.

We may take it for granted that if there is to be another war it will have to be started by the U.S. No other country is in a position to start a war even if it wanted to.

I doubt if there are many people in the U.S. who want war as such. But it is obvious that there are many who want things that can be had only at the cost of war or that must greatly increase the danger of war.

For example, as Fred Schuman has often pointed out, the Russians are not going to allow eastern Europe to be turned into a jumping-off place (alias **a cordon sanitaire**) for another attack on them. And if this country is going to have prosperity through a war-preparations economy, it requires no great insight to see that will lead toward war and not toward peace.

TRUTH IS THE JOB. This situation puts a great responsibility on those Americans who do not only want peace but also understand the conditions of peace. Unfortunately, their number at the present time is not great. There are many who want peace but few who understand its conditions.

The biggest job for 1949, I think, is to multiply by many times the number of those with the necessary understanding. When we have succeeded in doing that, we shall find that all our other problems appear in an entirely new perspective.

The job is a tough one, of course, and there is no simple formula for getting it done. But no one who understands that its essence is **to teach the truth** can believe that it is impossible.

Kumar Goshal

Asia's peoples are writing the big news

IN 1949, history will take a long leap forward in the Far East.

It takes little imagination to forecast what will happen in China. The Kuomintang Party is doomed. Chiang Kai-shek will have to say 'uncle,' and won't mean Uncle Sam. He and Mme. Chiang may move to the more congenial atmosphere of the Sunny South of the U. S.

The Dutch will set up puppet regimes in Indonesia, but Indonesians will continue their fight for liberation. Soekarno and Hatta, who missed the bus in 1946 by compromising with the Dutch when they were strong and the Dutch were weak, will lose face among their people, and the prestige of the left wing will rise in Indonesia. If U.N. manages to impose any truce there, the Dutch will break it as surely as they broke it before, and the truce will be loaded heavily in favor of the Dutch as surely as others have been in the past.

BAD EXAMPLE. Heartened by the **fait accompli** of the Dutch, the French will increase their effort to regain Indo-China, but the attempt will fail.

Fighting will continue in Malaya between the Malayan guerillas and the British.

Burma will strongly feel the impact of events in China. A more progressive

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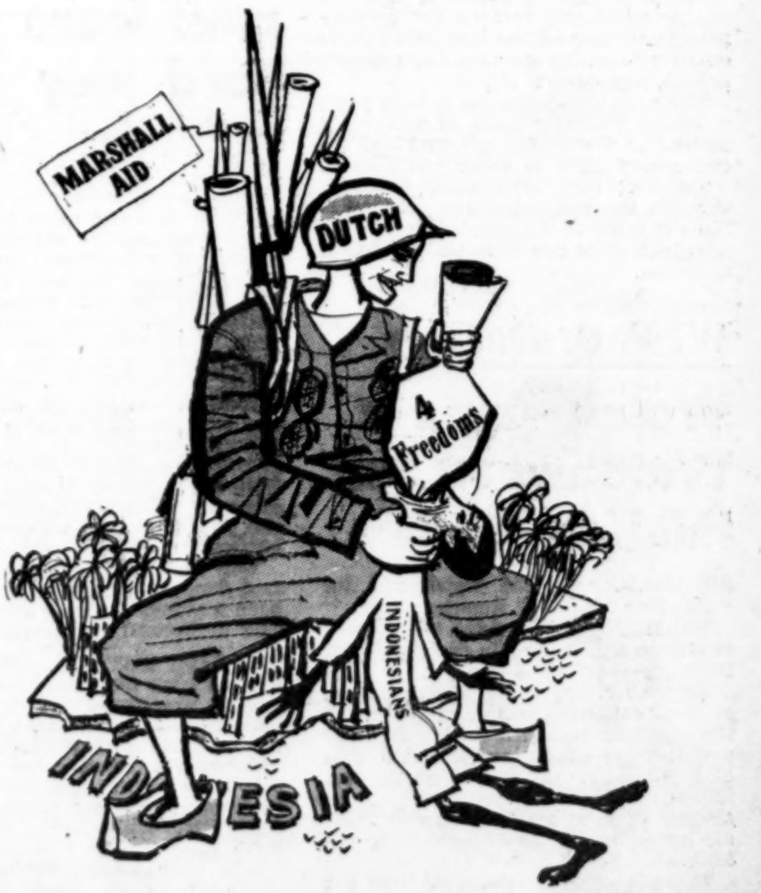


Drawing by J. Stefanelli

The task of Netherlands troops consists of assuring the Four Freedoms to Indonesia . . . I wish you and them a Merry Christmas.

Queen Juliana of the Netherlands

Continued from preceding page

government will probably replace the present one.

Strikes and peasant uprisings will increase in India. The government will take tough measures, but popular resistance will grow even tougher. Greater unity among the left wing forces is a genuine possibility.

ATTENTION, U.S. In the Philippines, the Hukbalahaps will gain in strength. Universal dislike for American policy towards the Far East may well result in the election of Jose P. Laurel, president of the islands under the Japanese, to the presidency once again. That would sharpen the crisis in the Philippines considerably.

Americans will be forced to pay more attention to the Far East. That will be all to the good—provided they realize the true nature of the happenings in the Far East and help mold an American policy friendly to the aspirations of the 1,000,000,000 people trying to shake off feudalism and imperialism in the greater part of Asia.

Johannes Steel

We must lift paper curtain shrouding U.S.

THE three major issues for 1949 remain—war and peace; the organization of resistance against the rapidly growing threat to civil liberties at home; and the lifting of the iron curtain with which the U.S. press and radio have covered the truth.

The first two issues can be met successfully only by opening channels of communication to information which has some relation to reality. The greatest tragedy in American life today is that the American people, by and large, are the most ill-informed in the world.

The picture created for them by the press, radio and movies, of a world that hangs breathlessly on the lips of our delegates to the U.N., of a world that is inspired by U.S. leadership in the "contain Russia" crusade, of a world that is profoundly grateful for the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan is entirely false. To say that the opposite is true, is putting it mildly.

The American people have been given a totally unreal picture of the world around us and of the political and social forces loose at home and abroad.

The first task therefore is to break through the confusion and contradictions to bring to the people information on which they can base their political decisions.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Watch Africa: Watchword for thinking people

IN 1949, this is the watchword for thinking people of America:

Watch Africa; tear down the curtain of silence and deliberate suppression of facts.

Remember that today there are signs of international conspiracy to make the countries of Africa the slums of the world; to steal their land and materials and get power of life and death over millions of blacks. Poverty and disease already prevail; and there are deliberate plans to keep the Africans in ignorance.

There is no doubt about all this; but it will be difficult to get the facts to let the world know the truth.

I have repeatedly appealed to magazines to publish facts about Africa. I have asked newspapers to carry news and in nearly all cases my plea has been turned down.

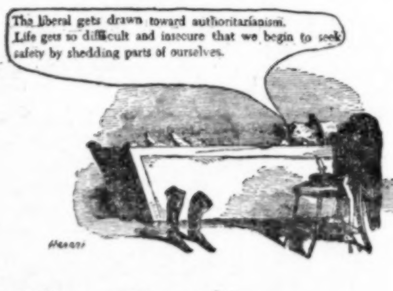
No one country is guilty! Great Britain is going to make Africa her source of cheap food. France is going to use Africans to fight against her own workers and help retain her hold on Asia. Belgium is rushing to increase the profit that she made during the war. Portugal is going to continue to play stooge to British capital. Italy is seeking to overcome the poverty of her masses by inflicting greater poverty upon Africans. Germany is going eventually to push her manufactures into Africa in return for materials.

STREAMLINED SLAVERY. In Africa itself, the world is trying to keep Ethiopia choked in her mountains away from commerce on the high seas. Egypt and Great Britain are rivals in trying to control the black labor of the Sudan. The United States is bribing Liberia and strengthening her grip by army, navy and investment.

The awakening peoples of West Africa are being cajoled, called "Communists," and given half-loaves of "Self-Rule." White minorities are ruling ruthlessly in East Africa, South Africa, Rhodesia and Southwest Africa.

Instead of civilized peoples being willing to let labor exploitation disappear from the world, they are willing to concentrate on the degradation of black folk; forgetting where the sympathies of the majority of mankind, including hundreds of millions of colored Asiatics, is tending in the coming struggle of world races.

What we need now for salvation is light, more light on Africa.


The liberal gets drawn toward authoritarianism.
Life gets so difficult and insecure that we begin to seek safety by shedding parts of ourselves.
Hesse

Olin Downes

The intellectuals must learn the hard way

WHEN the record of 1948 is written, it will not be flattering to the "liberal" intellectuals of America.

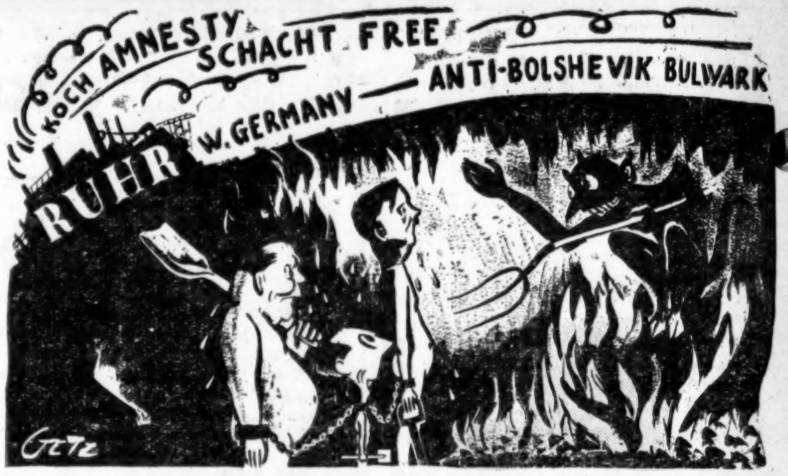
Nineteen hundred forty-eight was the year of world crisis in which this nation sweepingly rejected the one leader of intelligence, integrity and grasp of social problems whom it possesses: the man who presented the one platform which was responsible, sensible, constructive, coordinated and streamlined to meet the most urgent needs.

Extreme radicals on the one hand, and reactionaries in our government—powerful as they had not been for decades—ran true to form. But where were the so-called "liberals"—the men, allegedly, of thought, courage and social awareness who are presumed to be beyond the reach of mass hysteria?

Why did they not rise in their wrath and denounce a leadership which has been a monument to reaction, stupidity and ineffectual bureaucracy?

THE SAFE WAY. They deserted Wallace on such flimsy excuses, with such evident uneasiness, that their own explanations were self-accusatory. They dug up the phony charge of communism which they must have known was false. They fluttered angrily in their dovecote at a man who dared face the facts, who would face evil and fight it.

Was it that their vanity was hurt, because the plain citizen—the common man—was entering his century? Or was it that intellectual and polite society simply could not dream of taking off their coats and taking the tomatoes and rotten eggs, the abuses and indignities that would be the penalty for honesty and forthright action?



"I know it's hell for you boys— but you were too hasty in '45."

It was safer, in any case, for the "liberals" in the great majority to forsake their rightful job, and break the faith which they had long and politely professed. Wallace, who really stood for plain people in their desperate pass—who acted as well as believed in the defense of humanity—didn't have enough of the right people with him.

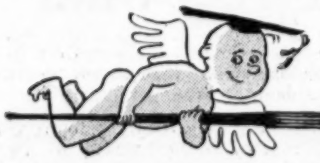
And so, in 1949 and afterwards, American intellectuals have got to learn their politics, nationally and internationally, the hard way—as befits those who meet facts with evasion, escapism and frightened sophistry.

Clyde R. Miller

The campuses are waking up and fighting

THREE events of 1948 which promise well for cultural and academic freedom in 1949 were:

- The Wallace campaign, which brought to millions some notion of the threat to academic freedom and other freedoms involved in a bi-partisan foreign policy;
- Organization of the Bureau of Academic Freedom of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, promising a much stronger fight in behalf of academic freedom and the tenure which must accompany it. (There can be no academic freedom without reasonable security of tenure).
- Founding of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN. (As more and more



Americans are able to discern and evaluate the dishonest and malicious propaganda which is directed at them by press, radio, motion picture and even by schools and colleges, they will develop a sense of realism and integrity which are the basis of culture and academic freedom.)

CONTAGIOUS LIONS. There is a growing realism on college campuses today. Many of the war veterans now in college are not easily fooled by whipped-up hysteria. They are less easily taken in by the "double talk" of professors who are too timid to tell the truth because they are afraid of the truth, or of those professors who appear as spokesmen for vested interests.

In 1948 Harlow Shapley of Harvard proved more than a match for John Rankin of the Un-American Committee. Lyman Bradley of New York University faces three months in jail because he had the honor and integrity to challenge that Committee.

Such men and women, as brave as lions, are causing ferment on college campuses. Their courage is contagious.

Emil N. Carlebach

People of U.S. hold key to decent Germany

FRANKFURT

PEACE, peace, and once again peace—that is the need of our German people who, after the collapse of Hitler's insane war, find themselves confronted once again with an invitation to take a position against their Soviet neighbor to the east—at present in the "cold" war, perhaps some time in the future in a "hot" war.

We need the realization of the Potsdam policy:

Denazifiation—instead of the acquittal of Schacht, amnesty for Ilse Koch and the reinstatement of chief munitions makers under the American military monopoly.

Demilitarization—instead of the e tablishment of the "service groups" in the British Zone and the "industr police" and "labor units" in the U zone.

STILL WANT DEMOCRACY. We need to build our peacetime industry, rather than protect the Ruhr war plants and throttle our exports by means of a Marshall Plan—a plan which bestows on us the gift of a growing deficit, and steeper taxes for the American taxpayer. We need a really democratic and peace-loving government.

We don't want to suffocate in a military policy which decrees for us an authoritarian west German state (Trizonia) with outspoken anti-Soviet orientation, which protects Hitler's generals and again makes Hitler's profiteering opportunists fit for society; while the propaganda barrage, and, yes, once again the repressive measures of the past are turned against the antifascists.

If the millions who voted against Dewey will support us in our efforts toward an understanding among the big powers, then we in Europe will realize what we have been hoping for since the conclusion of the covenants between Roosevelt and Stalin—peace and anti-fascist democracy.

Igor Trigorin

Russia exceeds pre-war level of production

MOSCOW

"WE have exceeded the pre-war lev of production—isn't it fine tha the results of war are being wiped out so quickly?" said my friend Kudryavt-

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sev, foreman of a large enterprise in Moscow—one of more than 500 enterprises in the Moscow region which have fulfilled their five-year plan in less than three years.

Moscow plants have started mass production of new passenger-car and truck models, new grades of steel and alloys, new-model metal cutting machines, precision instruments, refrigerators, television sets, cameras, etc.

Over 2,000 business and residential buildings are now under construction in Moscow. Many more new buildings, including several skyscrapers, are being blueprinted by architects.

PEOPLE'S PAY-DIRT. The other day on my way home I sat in a trolleybus beside a youth wearing overalls and the large canvas cap of a subway worker. "Well, how is the fourth section of the Metro coming along?" I asked him. "How soon shall I have a Metro station near my house?"

He asked where I lived and I told him my street.

"I don't know just when the station will be ready," he said, "but I do know it'll be in operation ahead of schedule. Today we have completed all six stations of the first section on the big circular line which will join Kursk railway station with Krymsky Bridge. In 1949 trains will be running on that line . .. . Know how much dirt we took out on that job?"

I laughed and shook my head.

"Six hundred thousand cubic meters!"

This satisfaction which one feels when he can say to himself, "I have done a good piece of work," is very characteristic of Moscow citizens today.

WORK FOR TOMORROW. The other day I visited Moscow Secondary School 1610 where several girls were receiving gold and silver medals. Excitedly they approached school director Lydia Alexeyevna Pomerantseva to receive their rewards. One of the girls said: "We worked well at school but at the Institute we'll work still better." She said "worked," not "studied."

Four years ago, when gold and silver medals for excellent school graduates were first introduced, 274 Moscow scholars won them. This year the number has risen to 1,104.

In 1949 all Soviet citizens will be looking and working for still higher standards in education, along with new victories in production for higher living standards.

Stanley Karnow

France's soul is dying -- the illness is moral

PARIS

PARIS was a dark city this New Year's Eve. The people of France did not greet 1949—they accepted it.

Time has not healed the wounds of war. France, an intrinsically rich country, is still in the throes of economic crisis, political disorder, and social defeatism. Here, more than ever before, the future is uncertain and ominous, the people are tired and pessimistic.

Economically, the present is a fool's paradise.

The Marshall Plan has delivered food, and a cost of living which makes that food impossible to buy. It has brought U.S. dollars, and it has thrown France into hopeless inflation. It has created an Economic Cooperation Administration which is, in reality, an economic domination administration.

In 1949, France will spend 96% of her Marshall Plan handout for day-to-day living, for maintaining her army, and for keeping her production at its present insufficient level. By the end of the year, practically nothing will have gone toward fundamental economic recovery.

By 1952, France will have nothing more real than a $5,000,000,000 debt to the United States. And facing her across the Rhine will be a reconstructed Germany labelled "Made in U. S. A."

DEAD SOULS. Politically, the new year may be a year of decision.

If General de Gaulle can water down his nationalism enough to take orders from the U. S., he may be allowed to put on the funny hat and assume the title of High Suzerain of the Gallic minions.

Otherwise, U.S. interests will be content to continue working the strings of the Socialist marionettes.

In either case, French workers—already considered untouchables — can expect increased attacks, suppressions, and, as time goes on, organized armed persecution. The recent war against the coal strikers was only a taste of what French conservatives will do to keep their capital concentrated.

France's soul is dying while U.S. enterprise deftly applies artificial respiration. France is a moral, not a medical case.

Franc-Tireur

Eleanor Wheeler

Czechoslovakia expects peace, builds for it

PRAGUE

PREMIER Zapotocky, returning here as head of the Trade and Political Mission to the Soviet Union, set a cheerful tone for 1949 with a quotation from **The Bartered Bride** by the Czech composer Smetana: "A good business was achieved."

Czechoslovakia expects peace. Economic prospects are improving with the agreement for a 45% increase in Soviet-Czechoslovak trade in 1949. Citizens' morale has been raised by the end of the food crisis: meat, butter, cereals and oils have already been delivered from the U.S.S.R. and other countries of eastern Europe. In all industries but food and building, the two-year plan has raised production to 110% of pre-war.

Czechoslovakia wants trade with the west, but prefers to bargain after the breadbasket is already filled by friendly neighbors.

WORKERS FAVORED. The attack on bureaucracy is heartening to all who have tangled with civil servants using methods devised by Maria Theresa, ruler of the Austrian Empire 100 years ago. The educational system is also in for a complete overhauling.

Housing is an acute problem. The building trade is disorganized and needs modernization. Workers, seeking roomier quarters, are climbing out of holes and squeezing middle-class accommodations. Most of the home building is being done for sections like the Kladno miners and Zlin shoe workers.

The political struggle between Catholics and the government does not as yet represent any curtailment of religious freedom. Freedom of worship is guaranteed.

In a continuing trend toward a workers' republic, new Labor Hero awards and discriminatory rationing favoring workers have been introduced, and are steadily improving working class morale.

The great reconstruction plans will take time and patience. The very high rate of investment will mean a continued shortage of consumer goods in the first years of the plan. Still, it compares favorably with the plans of Marshall Plan countries both in regard to investments and to increase in consumption.

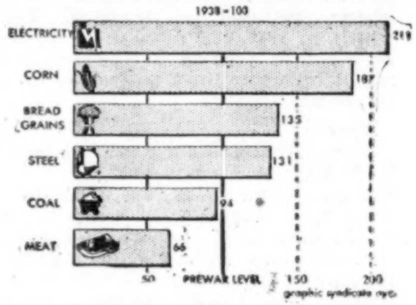
Gordon Schaffer

Drive to war dims Britain's socialist dream

LONDON

BRITAIN enters 1948 with a host of contradictions unsettled.

The leaders, most of the newspapers, all the newsreels and the majority of the broadcasts, talk of war and hostility to the Soviet Union. The people obstinately insist on talking peace, and of the old ties of friendship with the people of Russia.



British production targets for 1948-49

Officially, industrialists and trade union leaders proclaim their gratitude to the Marshall Plan and hail the Anglo - American Joint Productivity Committee as the starting point for a new era of prosperity. Off the record, they denounce the way in which the U.S. is dictating what they may sell to eastern Europe and advising them to cut down their building of ships. They are even considering sending a deputation to the government to protest about the danger of Japanese and German competition built on cheap labor and U.S. capital.

TIME TO ACT. Within a few weeks we shall have a new economic survey setting out the production targets for the year. On paper, it will point the way to eventual independence of U.S. help. But everybody knows that with the sellers' market drying up, achievement of the targets is far from likely.

Everybody knows, too, that once started on the road of rearmament, there can be no stopping halfway. For the British people it is becoming a choice of guns instead of butter, bombers instead of health centers.

And yet these very contradictions point the way to a settlement which can give to the British people the chance of building the better Britain of which they dreamed in 1945.

The great test for 1949 is whether the progressive forces can exert their strength in time.

If we fail in 1949, it may be too late in 1950.

James Higgins

Can CIO live under slogan of 'No Reds'?

AT the CIO convention late in 1948, president Philip Murray made a revelation that pained him: the CIO, created to organize the unorganized, had fallen down on the job.

In the three years since the surrender of Japan, with more than 60,000,000 employed in the U.S. and with the CIO financially and structurally able to sustain a wholehearted organizing campaign, there had been almost no advance. The CIO, as in 1940 when Murray took over the gavel from John L. Lewis, can claim, at the most, slightly over 5,000,000 members.

STRATEGIC RETREAT. The failure to organize cuts across all divisions of thought within the CIO. Unions on both the left and right have a record of default. The CIO itself, which launched a heralded "Southern Drive" in 1946 and which has now withdrawn quietly to "regroup its forces," has thus provided a conspicuous example of failure on the organizing front.

At convention, Murray proclaimed an operation that aims to bring some 6,000,000 white collar workers—such as department store clerks, public employees and professional workers—into CIO unions. He made it clear, too, that the operation would be conducted under the banner of "anti-communism."

FIGURES WILL SHOW. This year, then, the "anti-communist" policies sponsored by Murray and his friends will receive their test on the firing line.

Can a modern labor organization be maintained and expanded on an "anti-communist" base, as Murray and other CIO leaders assume?

Or are unions best built—as the CIC

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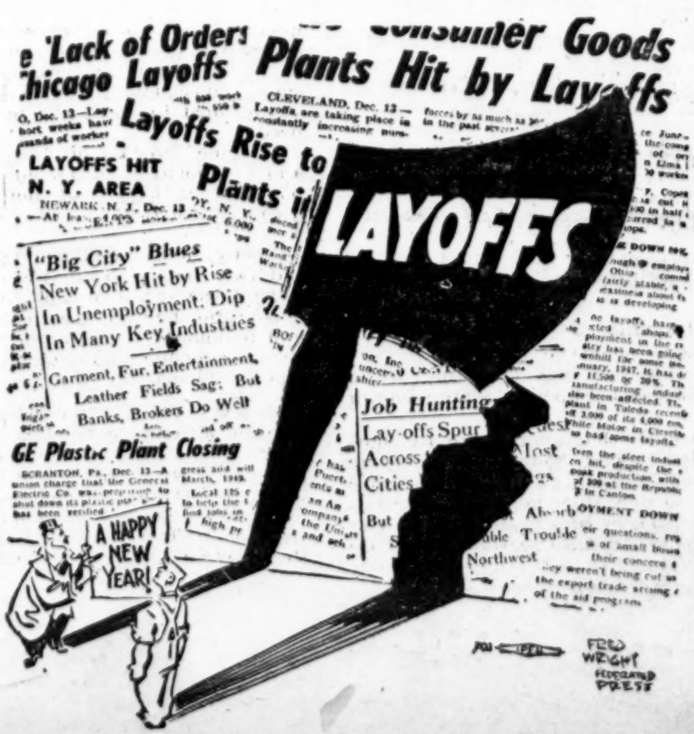

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was built in the 1930's—on an "anti-capitalist" foundation?

The answers to these questions will be found in the statistics of CIO organization in 1949.

The statistics will demonstrate, too, whether the CIO, with its present leaders, can hope to be the force that will liberate about 40,000,000 people who live under economic dictatorships here at home. These are the unorganized workers of the U.S.

Charles J. Coe

Small farmers are worried about nosedive

FARMERS are worrying about their products taking a price nosedive in 1949. The big banks, uniting in the demand for further downward revision of price-support legislation, show they expect further shrinkage of farm markets and a consequent drop in farm prices. The price-support program, says J. P. Morgan & Co.'s Board Chairman Leffingwell, is "inappropriate under present conditions."

Claims that the Marshall Plan would greatly increase food exports to Europe and prevent price declines have not been fulfilled. Grain prices broke sharply early in 1948 and recovered only a small part of the initial drops.

Food exports for the third quarter of 1948, reports the U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, ran "9% below the third quarter of 1947." The Dept. further reports that a 3% decline is indicated in civilian domestic consumption for 1948 from the 1947 rate.

ATTACK SHARPENS. Thousands of farmers switched from the Republican to the Democratic column in November owing to Truman's last-minute assurances that he would back up the pledges made to the farmers.

Since that time big business has intensified its attack on price supports and the Hoover Commission has been pushing its damaging proposals. The Administration has made no attempt to cross swords with any of these forces.

While the biggest agricultural interests go along with big business in favor of reducing or eliminating price supports, small and middle-size farms want the program continued.

Kathleen Sproul

We're thinking more about the school kids

The greatest tidal wave in the history of American education is bearing down on facilities and staffs wholly inadequate in scope and numbers to meet it. — National Education Assn. **Journal,** December 1948.

SINCE 1931, 46,000,000 babies have been born in the U.S., with the largest total (18,700,000) in the interval 1943-48. This means that by 1947 the wave will be a wrecker, and even by 1950 severely damaging unless help is forthcoming. It means thousands of new classrooms and 1,500,000 new teachers—proportionately five times as many as were prepared last year, of whom only 12,000 had four years' training.

Even now 4,000,000 children of school age are not enrolled; 2,800,000 citizens of 14 and over are illiterate; 8,197,000 citizens of 14 and over have less than fifth grade education.

KIDS vs. CROOKS. Criminals force us to spend each year four and a half times as much on them as we do on all forms of education. That larger form of criminality — war — forces stratospheric spending. Is there anything which, in 1949, will force us to dig any deeper into pockets to pay for what might insure against national and international crime?

Some hopeful straws in the wind:

Federal aid to education is strongly backed by NEA's powerful lobby, and the 81st Congress is not going to be allowed to forget it. In every educational journal the urgency of educating for international understanding runs through a surprising majority of articles. "One World" occurs often in titles—whether in discussing religion, radio education, teachers' pay, world level intercultural training, aid to overseas teachers and exchange arrangements, children and the democratic future, children and the atomic future, the necessity of teaching about Russia, or UNESCO conferences. At least the writers and specialists are alerted and alarmed.

Harold J. Laski is accurate when he charges: " . . . There is no agreement among American educators, still less among American citizens . . . about the end at which the schools should aim."

That has been always the besetting sin of our schools and philosophy. Yet, out of cataclysmic unease, may be coming something nearer to agreement than we've ever seen.

Barrows Dunham

Philosophers seek a base for A-Bombists

CYNWYD, PA.

AMERICAN philosophy is now strongly influenced by the need of expounding conservative views. A recent textbook on ethics, for example, praises the Taft-Hartley law. In the abstracts of papers read before the American Philosophical Association (Eastern Division) this December there are statements like these:

"Accomplishment and outcome are irrelevant for the goodness of an action;"

"The ultimate secret of history can be revealed only in the realm which death opens to us;"

"The notion of responsibility rests not on the presumption of our being able to affect the material world, but on the notion of a spontaneous self."

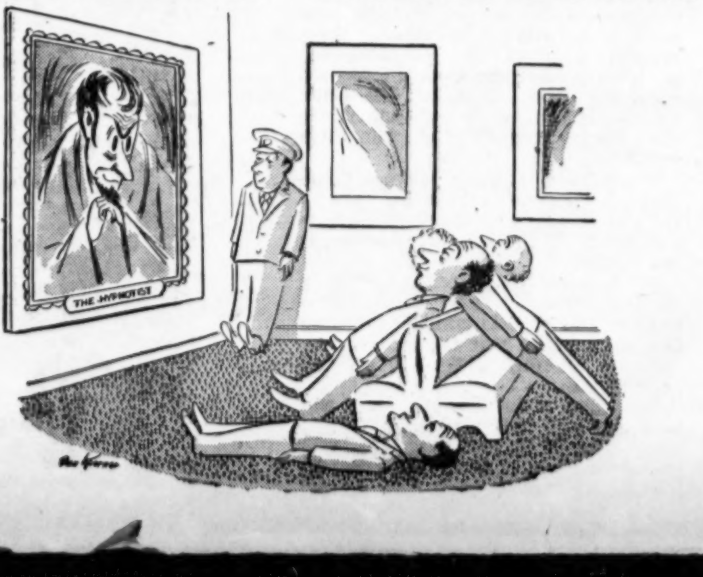
Such statements show a wish to render history unintelligible, and to exculpate men in advance from the results of their actions. This is the philosophical base for atomic diplomacy.

1949 should show a continuation of these efforts. There is, however, a growing revolt against the divorce of science from ethics and against the Positivist doctrine that moral judgments express merely the emotions of those who judge. In 1947, C. I. Lewis's **Analysis of Knowledge and Valuation** set the course; and in 1948, C. W. Churchman's **Theory of Experimental Inference** moved us along it. This is the development to be watched, if one hopes to see philosophy restored to its old station as "the guide of life."

1948 BOOBY PRIZES. Ironical prizes might be offered as follows:

(1) For the most uninformative statement of the year: "Communism is a phenomenon of history, which came into being for definite reasons." (Carlo Levi in **New York Times Magazine, Oct. 3, 1948**).

(2) For the most candid statement of a corrupt philosophy: "There is no objective standard for determining what is news any more than there is such a thing as objective truth. Facts appear to be facts only because a majority of the people accepts them as such." (Editorial in **Washington Post,** Nov. 23, 1948).



Frank Scully

365 days of nothing doing, the man says

HOLLYWOOD

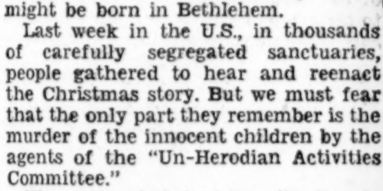
IF you have a treadmill, you can check off right now the progress the world will make in 1949.

During 1949 the vast middle class will stay in the middle, just as it did during the 100th anniversary of the Revolution of 1848. Automobiles this year will have price tags on them, but the tags will be out of reach of all except people who can afford Cadillacs, and they will look as unhappy as Republicans always look when they don't have political power to go with their money.

The President will have a refurnished White House, with twice as many rooms and baths as three persons need, and ex-GIs will continue to live in trailers, culverts and packing cases. They will continue to be told to buy government bonds as the safest investment in the world, never realizing that the bonds they already have, if cashed in now, will buy about half what the cash would have bought if the investor had latched on to Du Pont or Santa Anita racetrack shares in 1941.

The Taft-Hartley law will be shelved, but at least 30 states will accept the directive of the Merchants and Manufacturers associations and pass restrictive labor gimmicks of their own. Civil liberties will be compromised if not seduced in the cloak rooms of Congress. Red-baiting will go on and on.

BORE WAR AHEAD. "Peace" alone will show a change. The cold war will turn into the bore war, and the pushed-around people will begin to resent the billions Forrestal talked them into spending to march their teen-age boys up the hill and march them down again.



After 20 or 30 years of this vicious waste of American resources, the country will be "prepared" and broke. But by then the smart ones will be operating out in the Argentine, beyond the wrath of a bilked people.

As far as 1949 goes, check off 365 days and call it "the year nothing happened."

David W. Janes

'Good people' must recall German lesson

MOBERLY, MO.

IN Palestine 1948 years ago, the perusal of certain "subversive literature" had indicated that a revolutionary leader might be born in Bethlehem.

Last week in the U.S., in thousands of carefully segregated sanctuaries, people gathered to hear and reenact the Christmas story. But we must fear that the only part they remember is the murder of the innocent children by the agents of the "Un-Herodian Activities Committee."

We are reminded of the situation in Germany shortly after Hitler came to power. People there also went through the motions of Christmas. The "good people" were unhappy about certain things the new state did, but it didn't concern them as Christians or as plain human beings.

They failed to take any action to halt the mad rush to war until their country lay in ruins; then they hastened to shout their personal innocence.

GRAINS OF TRUTH. We sit in our fine churches and applaud when a new crusade against our fellow Christians in the Soviet Union is preached. We do not even protest when the heathen are sought as "defenders of the Gospel of peace."

There is something almost quasi-heroic when a proud nation rises against its conquerors; it is not even pitiful when the most powerful empire the world has ever seen shudders at the thought of peace and abundance, "which shall be to all men."

It is strangely fitting that the greatest leader in the fight for the better life should be a man devoted to the development of grains that will do much to feed the hungry of the world. It is much stranger that the nation which has ever advocated the separation of church and state must look not to its great religious institutions, but to a new and materially poor political party, for the defense of the Christian message of peace and plenty.

It is perhaps not too much to say that the Progressive Party on this Christmas Day of 1948 has been en-

Continued on next page

Continued from preceding page

trusted with the message traditionally assigned to the Heavenly Chorus on that First Christmas—"peace on earth and good will to men."

John Lardner

It looks like Brooklyn and Satch Paige

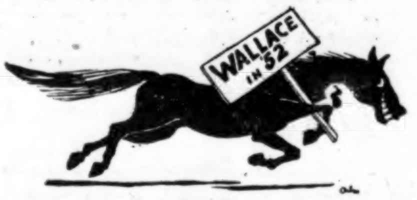
YOUR correspondent has been asked to retrieve his crystal ball from Uncle Alastair, the corner pawnbroker, who allows one day's free use of same at this season by way of Christmas largesse, to study sports prospects for the coming year.

This is going to be very long-range prognostication, friends, so stand back from the gun and avoid the recoil. I think that the Cleveland baseball club, which won the pennant and the world series in 1948, will lead the American League again, thanks to its post-season policy of buying up all the good players it did not have already. During the course of the year, its star relief pitcher, Satchel Paige, will celebrate his 39th birthday, which will be the seventh consecutive 39th birthday he has observed since 1942.

In the National League, it looks to me like Brooklyn. I am going to award myself a cigar the minute I think of one good reason for this choice.

Chances of finding a white hope to replace Joe Louis as heavyweight champion in 1949 are just as desultory as they were in the days of Jack Johnson, when the phrase "white hope" was coined. Fortunately, practically nobody worries about white hopes any more. The two best hopes on the market at the moment are brunette, Ezzard Charles and Jersey Joe Walcott, though the latter will be more than somewhat senile, for a hope, before the year is out.

THEORIES vs. POTATOES. The horse Citation will become the first in history to make $1,000,000. He will also be one of the first organisms of any kind not to turn Republican after achieving that sum. (Citation's owner, Warren Wright, supported MacArthur in 1948, but the horse remained sternly aloof and contributed not a nickel, so far as is known, to the General's campaign fund.)



The U.S. will continue to dominate the best organized of all international sports, tennis. Davis Cup weakness abroad has now been demonstrated not to be simply a matter of shortage of victuals. Australia, which is well off for meat and potatoes, concedes that America cannot be licked in tennis because of its superior training theories and facilities.

A motherly old lady aged 72 will hit a daily double at the race track for $3,456.70 some time during the year, and the income tax department will be on her like a flash.

Willard Young

Latin America's Task: Oust the military mind

MEXICO CITY

FIVE hundred farmers, students, trade unionists and professional men sat in the mud of the central jail of Asuncion, capital of Paraguay, this New Year's Eve. They had written to the Minister of Justice asking that the charges against them be stated and that they be permitted trial. They awaited his answer.

Ever since the military took over the government in January, 1947, these 500 men have been rotting in jail, under conditions that caused a visiting U.S. doctor to remark: "In no part of the world, even in Eastern Pacific prisons where rats are the prisoners' only food, have I seen or heard of anything resembling conditions here."

Three of their previous number were beaten to death in March and April this year. In the nearby Buen Pastor (Good Shepherd) prison for women, a School of Commerce student, Toribia Gonzalez, and a teacher, Anastacia Quintana, have died under police torture in recent weeks.

DEMOCRACY DYING. The plight of articulate democrats in Paraguay dramatizes but is not unrepresentative of conditions in most Latin American countries. Democratic governments remain only in Guatemala, Uruguay, Ecuador and Mexico. President Juan Arevalo's government in Guatemala is in imminent danger from restored dictatorships in the rest of Central America. Uruguay lives under constant threat from smoothly-operating dictatorships in Brazil and Argentina.

It may be that within a matter of weeks, Mexico will be the only major Latin American country in which democratic life will survive. But in Mexico last week the Nazi-founded, clerical-supported Sinarquist movement staged public meetings, defaced a monument to Abraham Lincoln's contemporary President Benito Juarez, and insulted the present government leaders. This may have been a tentative move to test public reaction to fascist provocation.

Latin America's task in 1949 is to retrace the steps that have been yielded to military force, since the World War ended.

Charles Duff

Franco faces a real crisis -- on the inside

LONDON

THE year 1949 will be one of crisis for the Franco regime.

The internal crisis is well advanced already and is due to the complete failure of Falangist economy and the colossal corruption in every branch of the Franco administration.

From Franco's point of view, there is something worse. Industrialists, bankers, landowners, generals are losing money, losing all they have made. And that, to them, means that there is no further justification for Franco.

His budget, just published, shows a deficit **ten times greater** than that of a year ago, and he is spending one half of it as a pure bribe to keep together the military and police forces without which his regime would fall to pieces in a week.

TIDE HAS TURNED. From five Spanish cities in December comes news that at last the ordinary people have reached a point of exasperation which has made them demonstrate in the streets. The people have abandoned hope of help from abroad in getting rid of Franco, and now intend to rely on themselves.

The tide **internally** has turned, and Spain always succeeds in clearing out the foreign body. It may happen in 1949.

By a Free Greek

'The year 1949 can become year of victory'

DECEMBER 23 was a milestone in Greece: the first anniversary of the Provisional Democratic Government set up by Gen. Markos' guerrillas.

The call in Greece for civil-war conciliation had been taken up by Australia's Herbert Evatt as president of U.N.'s General Assembly, and in England by 75 members of the Commons and Lords.

In Washington, Ambassador to Greece Henry Grady had recommended sending another $400,000,000 in 1949 to the monarchists, who have already had $1,600,000,000 from U.S. taxpayers. The second billion was not affecting the guerrillas' steady growth in numbers and influence.

From Athens, the N.Y. **Times'** Cy Sulzberger and Anne O'Hare McCormick reported that the guerrillas "remain unexpectedly strong" and that "the outlook (for the Truman-Marshall Doctrine) is unquestionably grave."

"The year 1949 can become the year of victory," was the theme of a guerrilla proclamation from the mountains.

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The Duce's ghost walks in Italy–and gets salutes

By William Robertson

LONDON

ITALY, December 1948. In Naples, the long column of mourners follows the coffin of a prominent man ("A great Fascist, Signor.") Scores of people give the Fascist salute as the coffin passes, and Fascist rites are performed at the graveside.

In Rome, where the public-gallery crowd screamed "Viva!" as Rodolfo Graziani, butcher of Ethiopia, told the court he was "the defender of the nation," theaters are crowded for films exalting Mussolini's colonial campaigns.

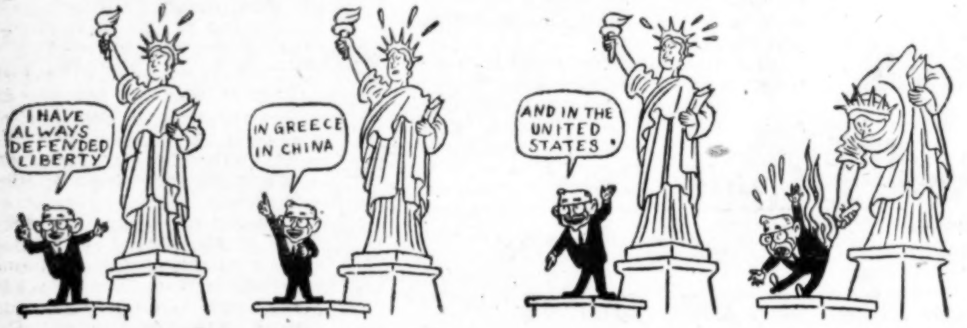
In Munich, U.S. Zone of Germany, a man strolls with his wife. He is Field Marshal Kesselring, murderer of many Italians—"on holiday" from his war-crimes trial.

CRIMES PARDONED. Sentences passed on Fascists are regularly rescinded or suspended. Federzoni, Mussolini's president of the Fascist senate, and Rossini, his labor-baiting Minister of Corporations, have been amnestied and returned from hiding. Italian high courts have set at liberty Generals Roatta, Jacomini and Suvich and other leaders of the "S.I.M.," the Fascist intelligence service, who less than two years ago were sentenced to life imprisonment for their brutal crimes.

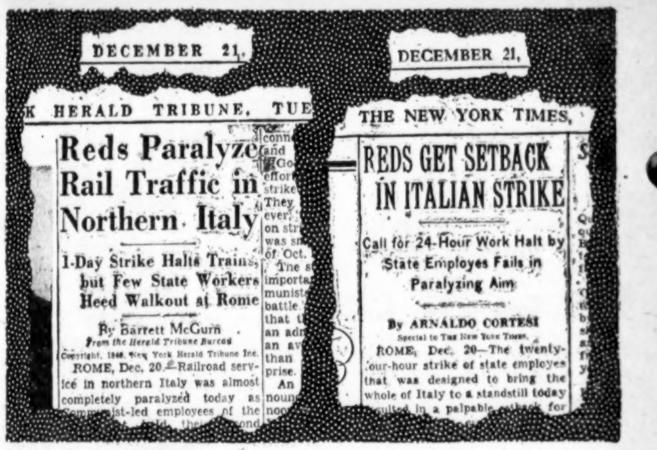
Underground, Fascist organization continues. Leaflets of the "Central Directorate of the Fascist Organization of Revolutionary Action," which proudly admits murdering many left-wingers, circulate by the thousands.

The neo-Fascist Movimento Sociale Italiano disdains to go underground and openly campaigns for a return to the Corporate State, using the old tactics of racism and provocation.

UNCLE SAM HELPS. When an attempt was made on the life of Communist leader Palmiro Togliatti, the London **Times** drew a clear connection between "this latest of murders and attempts at murder" and the de Gasperi government's "not always well-considered" leniency to Fascists.


I HAVE ALWAYS DEFENDED LIBERTY
IN GREECE IN CHINA
AND IN THE UNITED STATES

An irreverent Roman comment on President Truman (from Vie Nuove)


DECEMBER 21,

HERALD TRIBUNE, TUE

Reds Paralyze Rail Traffic in Northern Italy

1-Day Strike Halts Trains, but Few State Workers Heed Walkout at Rome

By Barrett McGurn
From the Herald Tribune Bureau
Copyright, 1948, New York Herald Tribune Inc.

ROME, Dec. 20.—Railroad service in northern Italy was almost completely paralyzed today as Communist-led employees of the

DECEMBER 21,

THE NEW YORK TIMES,

REDS GET SETBACK IN ITALIAN STRIKE

Call for 24-Hour Work Halt by State Employes Fails in Paralyzing Aim

By ARNALDO CORTESI
Special to The New York Times.

ROME, Dec. 20—The twenty-four-hour strike of state employes that was designed to bring the whole of Italy to a standstill today resulted in a palpable setback for

How to become confused about the news from Italy, in one easy lesson. The reproductions above are about the same event and appeared on the same day in two newspapers in the same city.

The de Gasperi-Saragat coalition depends for its existence on U.S. support abroad and right-wing (including Catholic Church) support at home. In order to maintain this support it has adopted the usual policy of anti-communism; and who is more anti-communist than a Fascist?

Il Giornale d'Italia, a newspaper which achieved world-wide infamy as Mussolini's mouthpiece, has been taken over by U.S. business interests headed by Philadelphia night-club proprietor Palumbo. The Church's anti-communism has played into the Fascists' hands. "Black shirts are being worn longer this season," is a universal cynical quip, referring to the long, black habit of the priests.

THE FLAG WAVES. Angry and vehement protests from working-class organizations are ignored. The government takes no action about the spread of unemployment and the drop in the living standard, just as it took no action when Fascist flags appeared on Rome's public buildings on the recent 25th anniversary of Mussolini's "march on Rome."

"The good name of Italy and the hopes of fruitful development," a sober report in the London **Times** concludes, "demand that her political life be freed from the threat of Fascist resurgence and the shadow of Fascist methods."

WORLD ROUNDUP

Some Russians

IN the dining room of the Hotel Muehlebach in Kansas City last week 160 guests gathered to honor Eddie Jacobson, a local haberdasher who had raised funds for Israel. In walked his former partner, who had left his trade and gone on to become President of the United States.

In the course of a testimonial to his friend Harry Truman remarked as casually as if he were talking of the hat business: "There are certain leaders in that country [Russia] who are exceedingly anxious to have an understanding with us."

The Muehlebach Declaration touched off frantic speculation. Everyone wondered whom Harry Truman had in mind. (Last June the President campaigning at an Oregon whistle-stop said: "I like old Joe. He's a decent fellow, but he's a prisoner of the Politburo.")

The London **Daily Mail** said he might be thinking of Stalin, Foreign Trade Minister A. I. Mikoyan, G. M. Malenkov, secretary of the Communist Party's Central Committee and Alexei N. Kosygin, just named Minister of Light Industry. The Russians said all their leaders favored an understanding with us.

The Dean of Canterbury told reporters that he understood what the President meant. He said: "Some of them (Russian leaders) I know advocate a get-tough with the West policy. Others are in favor of continued, even if fruitless, negotiations. But no one in Russia—and I say this without qualification—wants war."

At the week-end the President reaffirmed and underscored but would not amplify his statement.

PRESIDENTIAL PUNCH. In Washington, some veteran newspapermen, recalling Mr. Truman's previously embarrassing (to the State Dept.) remarks, shrugged. The N.Y. **Times'** Arthur Krock felt that by this time the State Dept. had "learned how to ride with these punches." This time the State Dept. rode—in silence.

On Wednesday the President flew back to Washington. Murky weather forced his plane to circle the field for more than half an hour. While spectators watched nervously the President slept. Other American diplomats were less at ease.

Mindszenty

THAT afternoon Acting Secretary of State Robert A. Lovett told newsmen that the arrest in Hungary of Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty was a sickening sham.

Lovett's counterpart in Budapest, Foreign Undersecretary Ivan Boldiszar, early in December talked of the Cardinal to **In Fact's** Editor George Seldes. The Dec. 20 issue of **In Fact** quoted Boldizsar: "The last thing we intend to do would be to arrest the Cardinal and try him for treason. He is undoubtedly guilty, and the verdict would undoubtedly be death by shooting. And that, believe it or not, is exactly what this medieval fanatic is praying for. . . . We are not going to oblige him."

CARDINAL OBLIGED. Last Monday the Hungarian police gave in and "obliged" the Cardinal and 10 others. Charges ranged from black market dealing to high treason. The Cardinal was said to have confessed that he met Archduke Otto, pretender to the Austro-Hungarian throne in June, 1947, in a monastery not far from Chicago. He admitted that he and Otto had agreed that "the United States would have to support the establishment of a kingdom in Central Europe." The coup would come after World War III.

NAMELESS AID. Then, according to the charge, the Cardinal returned to Hungary, organized an illegal royalist movement, drafted a plan whereby after Hungary was occupied by a certain nameless foreign army, he would take over the civil government and prepare for the restoration of the monarchy.

"Hundreds of documents" supporting the treason charge, Hungarian officials said, were found in a metal box in the Cardinal's cellar.

EXCOMMUNICATION. The Vatican decreed that all Catholics who participated in the arrest were excommunicated. In New York Cardinal Spellman called for prayers for "Hungary's saintly spiritual leader." Cardinal Spellman referred to Cardinal Mindszenty's year's imprisonment during the Nazi occupation.

The Hungarian government told the story this way: The Nazis laid claim to the Cardinal's palace at Veszprem and all that it contained, including 1,500 suits of underwear in the cellar. The Cardinal resisted the seizure of his palace and his underwear. The communique said: "He did not clash with them because of differences in principle or for his anti-fascist attitude but solely because of 1,500 shirts and shorts."

Unsettled Ruhr

"HAPPY VALLEY." The U. S. government was more than a spectator at a conference in London which settled the future of Germany's Ruhr. Traditional powerhouse of German militarism, the factories of the north German valley were to become the industrial stronghold of the Western powers. The U.S., Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg signed the agreement. Germans, they said, would be consulted; Russia was excluded. The Ruhr would be controlled by the six-nation authority "indefinitely."

The French had long opposed any rebuilding of the World War II Ruhr—nicknamed "Happy Valley" by airmen who had to bomb it. Other European industrial areas might well serve as the continent's manufacturing center, they had pointed out. The government of Premier Henri Queuille last week professed to see in the assurances of the six-nation agreement in London sufficient security for France.

German leaders of all political parties denounced the plan for excluding any future German government from control of the Ruhr.

Moscow termed the agreement a triumph

– Continued under the line on next page.

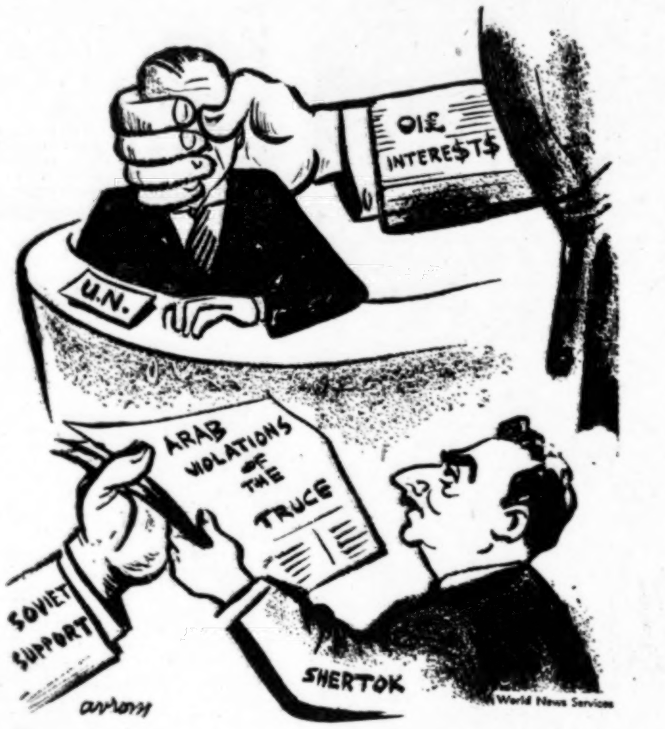
Secret of Israel's strength: a united, progressive people

By Arthur Hurwich

THE bantam state of Israel faces the New Year (Christian) with confidence and quiet determination. It has taken all its enemies could hurl, both at home and in the United Nations, and has more than held its own.

But it's a tough fight, and far from won.

Israel will win its fight for existence if its leaders continue to steer their ship carefully through the shoals of the cold war, basing its course not East or West but solidly on the needs and aspirations of its people. And that people includes Arabs.



World News Services

WHY IT WAS. Israel is a firm fact today primarily because it is truly democratic and progressive. That is why it was able to mobilize every able-bodied man and woman and beat back the invading armies of seven nations with a population 40 times as large.

That is why it has the support not only of most Americans but of the Soviet Union and of small nations on every continent. That is why it can outmaneuver oil and military strategists as clever and experienced as the British, not to mention certain highly-placed Americans.

U.N. Mediator Ralph Bunche, coming home to the United States for Christmas, announced that the war in Palestine was over. But in Tel Aviv they knew better. The war will not be over until all of the Negev is securely held.

NEGEV WILL BLOOM. Without that area, now a desert, Israel can neither prosper nor take care of the hundreds of thousands of Jews who want to live in their own land.

There are great plans to modernize industry, build a Jordan Valley Authority, develop a port on the Red Sea, make Haifa a city of 2,000,000, create new industries and make the Negev bloom.

"Every trench in the Negev will be converted into a settlement, after the peace," Premier David Ben-Gurion told the Pioneer Youth Organization a few days ago. That peace will come, he added, when the invaders are driven out.

COMING HOME. Immigrants are flowing into Israel at the rate of 20,000 to 25,000 a month. Most of them have to be trained in productive work after years in Displaced Persons camps where their morale deteriorated under enforced idleness. They have to be fed, clothed and housed in a country where the war has disrupted production and drained the treasury.

Shortages are so great that the cost of living has almost doubled in a year. The country faces strict rationing for a long time.

There is a shortage of dollars to buy needed imports. And the citizens of Israel will probably see their living standards fall unless that much-advertised $100,000,000 American loan comes through.

CITRUS EXPORTS. The armistice has enabled the government to demobilize skilled citrus workers to harvest the orange crop. Contracts for citrus exports have been signed with Britain, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Eire and Norway. Negotiations are under way with the Netherlands, France and Poland.

But even in 1946, before the war, Palestine's exports paid for only 38 per cent of its imports.

The traditional appeal for contributions by American and other friends of Israel is under way. Several hundred million dollars are sought. If the drive is successful and the U.S. loan is granted, as promised by President Truman, the nation will solve its most immediate and pressing economic problems.

BRITISH HANGOVERS. There is no pat word to describe the economic life of Israel. It is a product of practical necessity under the conditions of the British mandate.

Alongside cooperatives formed on communal lines to combat hostile Arabs and nature, privately owned industry and farms flourish. Dominant economic and political force is the Histadrut, the Labor Federation which owns and operates factories on a semi-socialist basis.

But the Palestine Electric Corp., which supplies all of Palestine's power outside of Jerusalem, is a subsidiary of Imperial Chemical Industries, the British cartel. The Jerusalem Electric Corp. also is British-owned. Similarly the Palestine Potash Co. on the Dead Sea, which produces the country's major natural resource, and the Haifa oil refineries.

The Anglo-Palestine Bank, which is virtually the official Israel bank, is 70% owned by British capital, the rest being Israeli.

ABDULLAH HELPED. It may surprise some ardent advocates of the boycott-Britain campaign in this country, but the Israeli government is doing its best to expand trade with Britain and would welcome further British investments, especially in the citrus industry.

The explanation is twofold. A great deal of the investments are held by British Jews, although far from all. And the raw materials for Israel's factories must be imported.

London has frozen $140,000,000 to $160,000,000 in sterling owed to Palestinians, keeping a tight hold on Israel's trade with the sterling area and using the funds to aid the Arabs. Some of the money already has been given indirectly to King Abdullah of Transjordan, the British puppet state.

ARTHUR HURWICH is the foreign editor of the New York "Post Home News." In a second article next week he will report on the political situation in Israel and Israeli relations with the Arabs.

WORLD ROUNDUP

Continued from preceding page.

of "American reaction." Four-power control, with Russia one of the four, was their Ruhr plan.

Chiang clings

ON Christmas Day a message from Chinese Communist headquarters named 45 Chinese nationalist leaders (including Generalissimo and Mme. Chiang) as war criminals. Last week Mr. Lovett described the action as unthinkable.

Promptest reaction to the Christmas message came from General Fu Tso-yi who, two hours after it was broadcast, announced the withdrawal of his troops from Kalgan, capital of Chahar, and appointed clerks to take careful inventory and turn over all property intact to the victors. This care, unusual in any war, was proper, he said, because the properties belonged to "the people and to the country."

General Fu was on the Christmas list.

At the week-end Chiang had gathered his military leaders to his side in Nanking, where he issued his New Year's statement. Peace hopes which had risen earlier fell as the Generalissimo spoke. He said: "We are fully aware that military operations have increased the people's burdens and that they hope for early conclusion of the war." The declaration of awareness was as much as China could get from Chiang.

Mme. Chiang was still in Washington, where she had taken a house. From time to time she dropped in to see Mr. Lovett.

Cairo murder

IN Cairo last Monday morning the Premier of Egypt, Mahmoud Fahmy Nokrashy Pasha, walked to the elevator on the ground floor of the Ministry of the Interior. A young man in the uniform of a police lieutenant saluted and shot the Premier dead.

The assassin was a 21-year-old veterinary student and member of the Moslem Brotherhood, a society listing 1,000,000 members.

This was the second political assassination in Cairo in less than six weeks. Late in November Police Chief Selim Zaki Pasha was killed by a hand grenade. That murder was blamed on the Brotherhood, which was consequently banned.

Two trends lay behind the terror campaign. Selim Zaki was shot at the height of anti-British agitation. Nokrashy died at a time when Cairo nationalists brooded over Arab defeats in Israel.

Negev war

BEFORE the old year ended, the Egyptians had been all but driven out of Israel. In Baghdad Iraqi leaders threatened new assaults, but their forces were hard to find in the embattled Negev, as their Egyptian allies pointed out. Military facts made less meaningful the wordy struggle over Israel in the United Nations.

The Security Council last week decreed a cease-fire and ordered Israeli troops to retire from the Negev, a week after the renewed fighting had broken out. The Israelis were "waiting to receive the cease-fire order officially." Retirement from the Negev, they said, would probably be made contingent on peace with Egypt

IMPERIAL SOLIDARITY. On the stroke of midnight, New Year's eve, Dutch troops were scheduled to call off their war against the Indonesians in Java, but "police action" was to continuue in Sumatra. U. N. commentators agreed that the Council would not condemn the Netherlands, much less impose sanctions.

Other colonial powers, bent on what one reporter called "a more intense use of colonies," saw the need for solidarity with the Dutch in their imperial troubles. France, it was reported, would veto any U. N. action against the Dutch.

In the hills the Indonesians were rallying for a long fight.

PROBLEMS of the U. N. were as nothing compared with those faced by a group of men on the 28th floor of the Sherry-Netherland Hotel in New York City. At no-one's request, they have set out to solve the problems of the world.

They need $20,000,000 to "buy the best brains." Brains already on hand belong to Beardsley Ruml, chairman of R. H. Macy and Co., Leon Henderson, former OPA administrator, Elmo Roper of the polls, and Thomas K. Finletter, former chairman of the President's Air Policy Commission.

On the docket for solution are problems of disarmament, the decline of the British Empire, reconciliation of Russia with the U. S., the preservation of civil liberties, development of the U. N. Their brow-furrowing recalled W. S. Gilbert's verse from **Princess Ida**:

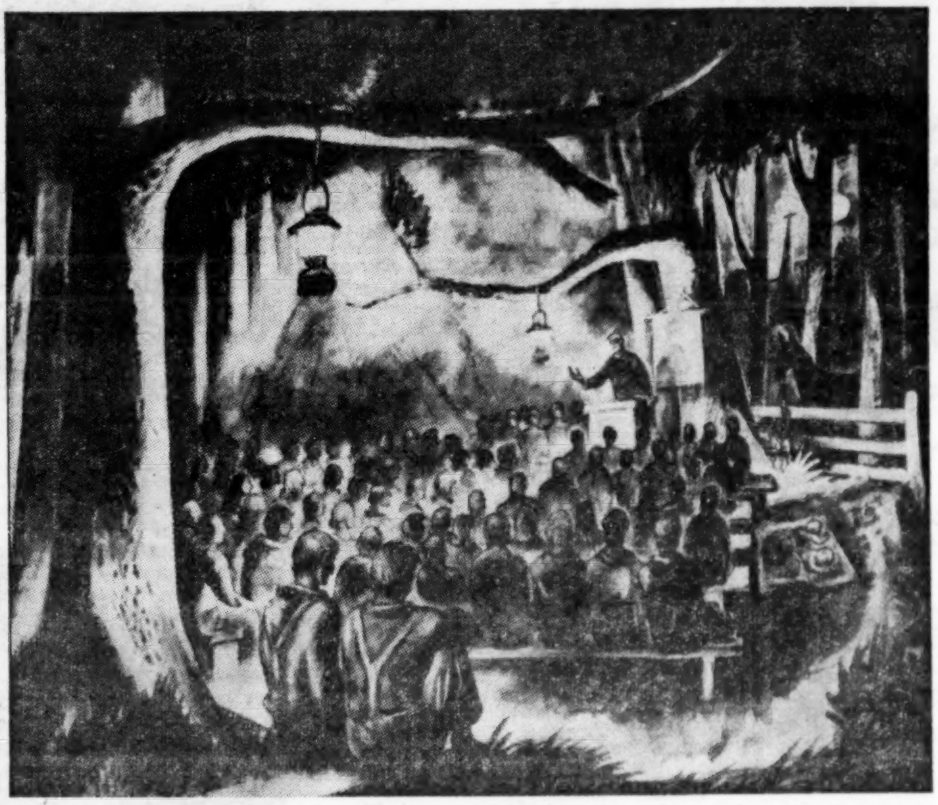
To get sunbeams from cucumbers they've a plan—
they've a plan

They've a firmly rooted notion they can cross the
polar ocean

And they'll find perpetual motion if they can—

A Faith to Free the People

By Cedric Belfrage



"A Congregation of His People" — drawing by Lynd Ward for the People's Institute of Applied Religion. This picture of plain farmers and workers meeting in the woods at night (church is seen in right background) to hear the word from a working preacher, shows where true religion is likely to manifest itself.

FACED with eviction from his pastorate manse at Paris, Ark., as a "red," Glaude Williams brought suit against the Presbyterian church board for unpaid salary amounting to $2,299. The Presbyterian Synod lawyer harangued him with sharp questions. "Didn't you have niggers eat at your table while you were pastor?" he shouted. "Yes, I did," Claude replied, "and I was careful to pull up the shades." The court's verdict: instead of being entitled to back salary, Claude must pay $80 rent for the Paris manse, plus interest from the day he got notice to quit. Claude began to look for a new field for his work among the miners and sharecroppers.

> Ye serpents, ye offspring of vipers, how shall ye escape the judgment of hell? Therefore, behold, I send unto you prophets and wise men, and scribes: some of them shall ye kill and crucify; and some of them ye scourge in your synagogues, and persecute from city to city.—MATTHEW

V. The Rising Tide

AT THIS time a great movement of the people was stirring into life, over in the eastern part of Arkansas, in the Mississippi River bottomlands where cotton covered all the fertile earth and ruled over it.

The thing the people had brought up together out of the mud was the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. It was the first organized voice that the black and white people, the millions of slaves of King Cotton, had ever had together.

Twenty-seven white and black sharecroppers had started the union in July, meeting secretly at night in a decaying schoolhouse near Tyronza in Poinsett County. Since first they got wind of it, the planters had fought the union with violence and terror. Union meetings were held in the woods and fields after dark, and at first every member came armed. Sharecroppers and preachers of great courage went on foot through the country, traveling mostly by night, sleeping under trees, to set up locals of the union.

It was a religious revolutionary movement with a significance and spirit that fired men like the Paris preacher, who in his own district had already laid foundations for such a union. A few days after his trial in Paris for doubting the Virgin Birth, news came that Ward Rodgers and a Commonwealth group were in jail at Lepanto, a town not many miles from the cradle of the union. Rodgers had spoken against the planters' terror in a union meeting at Marked Tree, had read part of the United States Constitution dealing with freedom of assembly, and had been arrested for anarchy and blasphemy.

ALARM began to spread through the whole American labor movement, north and east and west. A widening circle in New York and the great industrial centers realized that it was not necessary to look across the ocean to see fascist terror in action. Those who understood this went quickly into action, calling a great conference in New York on the rise of fascism and terror in the South.

Claude was delegated to the conference by miners, sharecroppers and unemployed of western Arkansas, and the Conference of Younger Churchmen agreed to pay his fare.

When Claude considered the various progressive leaders he met in New York, he realized that those who impressed him most had one thing in common: they were all accused of being Communists, whether or not they actually belonged to that political party. The brand was on everyone who really came to grips with the struggle, in New York as in Arkansas. Much publicity had been given to an interview with Claude on his arrival in New York, in which he had said: "I was fired for taking religion seriously."

THE first thing Claude decided on returning to Paris was that he had to get the family moved out of the manse at once.

He spent two days searching for another house. There were houses available, but it was evident that all the landlords had agreed not to rent to him.

He reported this back to his wife Joyce and she said:

"Well, maybe they are more right than they or you know. Paris is no longer your parish. There's nothing tieing us here. We have a bigger parish now."

Next day he borrowed a car and went with the family to Fort Smith, long a stronghold of his work. Houses were scarce there too. A friendly minister helped him, and they found a house in a pleasant district which cost $30 a month.

The unemployed of Fort Smith, whose champion Claude had been for a long time, heard of his arrival and soon started coming to the house. The preacher was their man. They had a hundred problems for him.

Relief workers had been cut from 30c to 20c an hour and had declared a strike. The strike leader, Horace Bryan, went to the jail one day to demand the release of a striker who was illegally arrested. Instead of releasing the striker, the authorities locked Bryan up with him. The relief workers begged Claude to take Bryan's place.

CLAUDE knew that he must either take this thing on or betray not only himself but also the multitudes for whom Jesus of Nazareth stood. But before he took any active step, he decided to try and win the support of religious leaders in Fort Smith.

The nearest thing he knew to a real Christian in Fort Smith was the Rabbi Teitelbaum. The Rabbi listened sympathetically and explained that, however much he might want to help, he was a Jew and could not afford to act alone; he would be bringing down wrath upon his whole group in town and turning the labor terror into a pogrom. He mentioned one of the Christian pastors in town and said that he would support Claude if this pastor would go along too.

They went to this pastor's church.

"No," said the pastor, "I can't do it, brother Williams. These people are on charity and they do not have the right to strike. The Government is doing the best it can for them. If they were not a lot of ne'er-do-wells they would be thankful for getting what they do."

THERE was no dodging it: Claude had to go ahead alone. He had one ace in his hand. He was still officially a Governor's appointee to investigate destitution in the State.

On the day before Bryan's trial Claude led a great hunger march through the streets of Fort Smith. Whites, Negroes, Mexicans and Indians marched behind him singing hymns. The faces of the marchers said they were hungry even more plainly than the banners they carried, but the people of property saw only a band of cutthroats menacing law and order.

The court was so jammed for the trial of Bryan that the architect of the courthouse was called in to announce it might collapse if some people did not leave. Nobody left. Nearly all the people in the court were strikers.

The judge seemed to feel the atmosphere was not right for passing sentence on Bryan.

IT WAS Sunday next day. Claude held his service in the ball park. The sheriff, mayor, and judge came with detectives and policemen and stood on the crowd's edge. The strikers, white and black and brown, prayed and sang together. The respectable ministers of Fort Smith had refused to attend the service, but five lowly lay-preachers cooperated with Claude.

Next afternoon another hunger march was arranged. The strikers planned to meet for prayers in a field on the edge of the city, then march across town. In the morning the mayor sent a message that there must be no march.

There was in effect a declaration of martial law. The strikers sent word back to the mayor: "This is America. We can march. If there is any law against it, it is unconstitutional."

The strikers assembled, and Claude spoke to them from an improvised platform, on which an American flag had been placed.

A poor preacher led the people in prayer. As they stood with bowed heads, a line of police cars drew up. The police chief with some men charged on to the platform, pushing the prayer-leader and Claude to the ground, and knocking the flag askew.

"Watch out for that flag!" said Claude.

"To hell with the flag! you we want."

Joyce ran forward. "You got to take me if you take him."

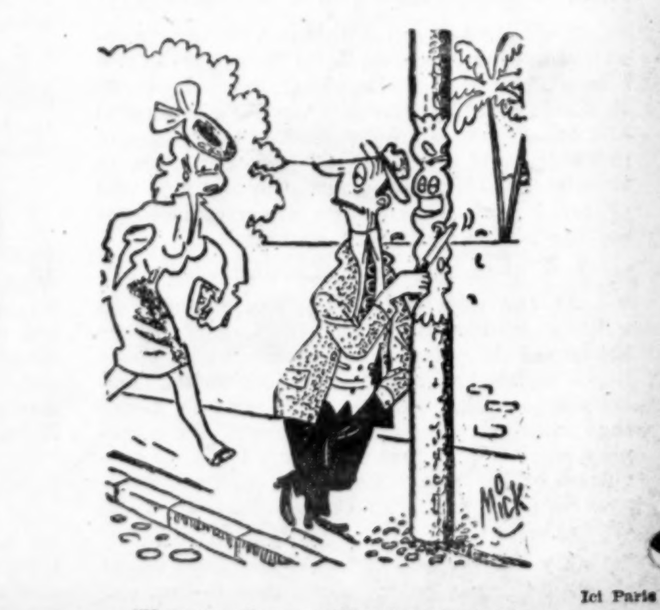
"Better go home and mind the children," Claude said.

She was roughly pushed back, and Claude, Bryan and the others were piled into a police car filled with guns and gas bombs.

Joyce came home to find policemen ransacking the house. Books and papers were littered about.

In the evening the real estate agent from whom they had rented the house came by to give Joyce a month to get out.

6th INSTALMENT NEXT WEEK



Ici Paris

"Have you been waiting long, dear?"